

FBI

DATE: 4/24/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
CINAL

Extreme care should be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 4 - Chicago A) 134-46
  - ( 1 - 100-33741) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
  - ( 1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - ( 1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 2 - Cleveland (100-17257) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
  - ( 1 - 100- ) (GUS HALL)
- 2 - Detroit (100-2050) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
  - ( 1 - 100- ) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Seattle (100- ) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
  - ( 1 - 100- ) (BURT NELSON)
- 1 - New York (100-81752) (CP, USA BRIEF) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-87211) (CP, USA FACTIONALISM) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-86624) (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-81333) (CP, USA SECURITY MEASURES) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-96985) (CP, USA UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
- 1 - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
- 1 - New York (100-23325) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (416)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-105078) (HYMAN LUMER) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-7918) (PAUL NOVICK) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)
- 1 - New York (100-80641) (415)

JEK:plk  
(33)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 24 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*JP Juman*

100-52579-3331

NY 100-80641

CG 5824-S\*, on 4/23/59, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING, the following summary of the sessions of a meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the CP, USA, held on 4/23/59:

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CP, USA

An Executive Session of the NEC of the CP, USA, was held in the National Headquarters of the CP, USA in NYC on 4/23/59. Only members of the NEC and persons specifically invited were allowed to attend this meeting.

Persons in Attendance

Members of the NEC

The following members of the NEC were in attendance at this meeting:

BEN DAVIS, EUGENE DENNIS, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, JAMES JACKSON, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, HY LUMER, BURT NELSON, IRVING POTASH, JACK STACHEL, BOB THOMPSON, and CARL WINTER.

Invitees

The following invitees were present at this meeting:

BILL ALBERTSON, PHIL BART, MORRIS CHILDS, GUS HALL, and ARNOLD JOHNSON.

There was a debate before the NEC decided to permit ALBERTSON to attend this meeting.

AGENDA

There were only two items on the order of business for the sessions of the NEC being held on 4/23/59. These were:

1. The welcoming of GUS HALL.
2. Reports on the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.



NY 100-80641

EUGENE DENNIS was the Chairman of the meeting and during the reports on the 21st Congress of the CPSU, sent messages to JAMES JACKSON and MORRIS CHILDS warning them that they should guard their remarks against the possibility of hidden microphones.

Election of GUS HALL to the NEC

In a matter of less than five minutes, GUS HALL was welcomed back to open activity in the CP,USA and was elected to the NEC.

Report of JAMES JACKSON on the 21st Congress of the CPSU

JAMES JACKSON gave a very lengthy report on the 21st Congress of the CPSU. He discussed the meaning of the Seven Year Plan and said that he was pleasantly surprised with the conditions and rapid developments in Russia. He said that the Russians are working magnificently and that he was enthused with the USSR.

JACKSON said that he participated in a discussion with the Russian leadership, but did not identify the leaders of the CPSU involved. He said that the leadership of the CPSU considers the CP,USA as a Marxist party and that the representatives of the CP,USA are treated with respect by the leadership of the CPSU. He stated that the economic situation of the US and the Negro question in the US were discussed with the leadership of the CPSU, and that they informed the representatives of the CP,USA, that the American Party was in a better position than they to make a correct evaluation of these matters.

JACKSON further stated that he had a discussion with Chinese comrades at the 21st Congress of the CPSU. However, it was generally understood by those present at this meeting, that JACKSON had participated in these discussions in China. JACKSON spent considerable amount of time concerning methods and style of work for the CP,USA as a result of his discussions with the leadership of the CP of China. JACKSON said that as a result of these discussions, he feels that a large Communist

NY 100-80641

Party is not important. What is important is that the CP have an organization which is in reserve and is protected. Thus, it is necessary for the CP,USA to discuss ways and means of protecting its cadre, while at the same time, protecting Communist Party members who are working in mass organizations.

JACKSON stated that he had met with comrades from Latin American countries, but did not go into any details concerning these meetings. JACKSON praised the work of MORRIS CHILDS in Russia. He said that CHILDS had been a considerable help to him, that CHILDS had represented the CP,USA well, and did yeoman service for the CP,USA while in Russia.

JACKSON spoke without notes and frequently used the blackboard during his report. While he had a very large pile of notes with him, he did not refer to them at any time.

#### Report of MORRIS CHILDS

After a break for lunch in the National Headquarters, the NEC heard a report of the 21st Congress of the CPSU given by MORRIS CHILDS.

CHILDS stated that even though he had been to Russia several times, he was pleasantly surprised by the recent strides made in the USSR. He talked about the economy expansion and the rebuilding in the cities, such as Stalingrad and Leningrad as well as Moscow. CHILDS also went into a lengthy discussion of the meaning of the Russians' Seven Year Plan. He commented that even Americans have had to sit up and take notice of this plan. CHILDS also spent some time in a discussion of Marxist-Leninist theory. He said that it had been necessary for the CPSU to make a reappraisal of the entire situation in the USSR since the Seven Year Plan will carry the Soviet Union into the first phases of Communism as a result of the rate of development projected in the Seven Year Plan.

CHILDS also supplemented JACKSON's remarks in regard to discussions with the leadership of the CPSU. CHILDS said that the CPSU and other Communist Parties regard the CP,USA as

NY 100-80641

a fighting party and as a Marxist party. The CPSU and other Communist Parties are pleased with the CP,USA overcoming revisionism. The CPSU was told by the CP,USA Delegation that there are no basic differences in the leadership of the CP,USA. He said that the CPSU wants to see a collective, but united leadership in the CP,USA.

Continuing, CHILDS said that the CPSU treats the CP,USA with respect and has confidence in the CP,USA. The CPSU feels that the CP,USA holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the CPSU agrees with the basic policies of the CP,USA.

CHILDS said that the relationship of the CP,USA with Latin American Communist Parties and with the CP of Israel should be discussed at a separate meeting. He said that in another meeting, the NEC should consider the possibility of exchanging delegations with Communist Parties in Latin America.

In concluding his remarks, CHILDS, who also spoke without notes, said that JAMES JACKSON had represented the CP,USA well, while he was in Russia.

It was observed that as CHILDS started to speak, a note was handed to him by EUGENE DENNIS. In this note, DENNIS reminded CHILDS to praise the work of JACKSON in Russia, and the work of EUGENE DENNIS in the CP,USA.

#### Question and Answer Period

There was a question and answer period. Only one question of significance was asked. This question was directed to JACKSON by CARL WINTER and JACKSON spent about twenty minutes answering it, with frequent use of the blackboard.

CARL WINTER asked what are the possibilities of war.

JACKSON said that in the world there are three fuses which contain the possibility of an explosion. These are: 1) Berlin, 2) Iraq, 3) Cuba.

NY 100-80641

In regard to the possibility of war, JACKSON referred to the thesis of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV that there is no inevitability of war. The reasons for this are: 1) The strengthening of the Socialist camp, 2) The growing anti-imperialist movement with colonial people breaking away from the imperialists, taking neutral positions and favoring peace, 3) The growing sentiment for peace in capitalist countries, 4) The lack of unity among imperialist countries with growing contradictions which might lead to war among the imperialists for materials or for spheres of influence, even though this is unlikely, and 5) Last but not least, if it should come to a physical showdown, the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp has the capacity and means to defend the Socialist world. The imperialists, and particularly the US, are aware of this and might wonder if war would be worth the price. Many people are wondering if it is worthwhile to unleash a nuclear holocaust over Berlin, which is one hundred miles inside the Communist territory.

JACKSON stated that the comrades of the Soviet Union and other countries say that the sentiment against war over Berlin is strong in Europe. The atrocities of the Nazis are still in their minds and if it comes to a showdown, they will not fight for Berlin.

JACKSON further said that the Chinese comrades stated that they feel that the US imperialism has lost its initiative and is very undecided on what future moves to make. For example, US imperialism would have given anything to stop the Cuban Revolution, but the revolution took place despite the US. The US could not stop its development and could not influence the establishing of a new government in Cuba. This indecision on the part of the US indicates that there will not be a war. Further, as the Socialist lands, particularly China, build their economies, their influence expands. This strengthens the forces of peace and means that there will be less likelihood of war.

JACKSON also pointed out that ECCLES and CYRUS EATON, although capitalists, wonder if capitalism can win a nuclear war. They feel that the capitalist system can be

NY 100-80641

saved for a longer period of time by reaching an understanding with the Socialist world.

At this point, CARL WINTER stated there is a lot of talk about war in the US. What practical suggestions does the Soviet Union offer to divert the adventurism of American Generals.

JACKSON replied that while there is no open talk about the possibilities of trade between the US and the USSR, the "Wall Street Journal" and some commercial magazines have pointed out that the proposals of ANASTAS MIKOYAN, for trade between the US and the USSR, have not been completely abandoned. JACKSON said that the Soviet Union is ready to offer the US some trade agreement. He also cited that the Russians have a delegation in Great Britain for the purpose of working out long term credit arrangements. JACKSON also referred to a speech by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the 21st Congress of the CPSU in which KHRUSHCHEV talked about the expansion of trade relationships. JACKSON commented that this should be the practical suggestion to divert those in the US who are seeking war.

In conclusion, JACKSON again referred to his discussion with the leadership of the CP of China. JACKSON said that the Chinese stated that they will not provoke a war. They will get Taiwan in time and on their own terms. The Chinese are not anxious to get into the UN. They feel that some day they will be invited to join the UN as the first rate power which they are.

There was one other question in regard to the treatment of Jews in the USSR. Both JAMES JACKSON and MORRIS CHILDS said that there is no Jewish problem in the USSR. They also talked about discussions with PAUL NOVICK while in Russia. IRVING POTASH commented that NOVICK is writing some very good articles on his trip, and that these articles are appearing in the "Morning Freiheit."

NY 100-80641

Discussion on the Motion to Endorse the  
CP,USA Delegation to the 21st Congress of  
the CPSU and the Reports of JAMES JACKSON  
and MORRIS CHILDS

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

On a motion to endorse the work of the CP,USA Delegation to the 21st Congress of the CPSU, and the reports of JACKSON and CHILDS to this NEC meeting, BEN DAVIS said that he has no doubt but that the CP,USA had a good delegation at the 21st Congress of the CPSU. He also said that he thinks that JAMES JACKSON did a good job in Russia. However, he feels that JACKSON was not sharp enough in his remarks to the 21st Congress. He said that he was of the opinion that JACKSON should have been sharper in indicting American imperialism in his speech to the 21st Congress of the CPSU.

DAVIS further stated that he thought that the "greetings" from the CP,USA to the CPSU on the occasion of the 21st Congress of the CPSU were weak. Further, that while the CP,USA delegation was a good one, and while JACKSON was a good representative, there should have been more collective discussion about the delegation and its work in the NEC prior to the time that the delegation left for Russia.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT lunged into an "attack" on BEN DAVIS. He asked what BEN DAVIS meant by a lack of collective work.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS asked DAVIS, what do you mean when you say that there was no collectivity? DENNIS said that the composition of the CP,USA delegation was the result of a consultative decision by members of the NEC. However, several members of the NEC read the CP,USA statement to the CPSU before it was sent to Russia. In fact, it was held for two days so that DAVIS could read it, but it had to be sent to Russia before DAVIS returned to New York City from a trip to Cleveland.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JACKSON spoke again for about a half hour. He read portions of his speech to the 21st Congress of the CPSU. He explained why he thought it was a good statement. In colorful language he lambasted BENJAMIN DAVIS. He said that he was speaking before a Congress of the CPSU. It was not necessary for him to agitate the delegations about American imperialism since they knew about as much about American imperialism as we do.

Using the blackboard, JACKSON explained that the Russians were not anxious to have delegates from other Communist Parties make rip-roaring speeches at the 21st Congress of the CPSU. He said that as a matter of fact, he had learned that a part of his speech was deleted in the translation.

In conclusion JACKSON said that the NEC had to endorse the line of the CP,USA delegation to the 21st Congress of the CPSU. He stated if there are disagreements, let us air them here and not at the National Committee meeting. DAVIS then commented that he had no real disagreements.

Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

MORRIS CHILDS endorsed the statements of JACKSON that the CPSU did not want representatives of the CP,USA to make certain types of statements at the 21st Congress. CHILDS pointed out that the Russians take certain diplomatic considerations into account. He said that while the CPSU does not care how loudly the members of the CP,USA shout in the US, they gave the CP,USA delegates several hints that they should be circumspect in their public statements in Russia. Using the blackboard, CHILDS pointed out that while most of the delegations to the 21st Congress to the CPSU were housed in the Kremlin, the CP,USA delegation was housed in an apartment and the Russians did not do this by accident. It was a calculated thing and was done for a reason.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

At this point, DAVIS retreated somewhat. He said he had learned some things during this NEC meeting. On the other hand, he stated that the NEC should have more collective work. He also said he felt that he had a right to bring up this discussion but that now he would vote to endorse the reports.

Endorsement of the CP,USA Delegation to  
the CPSU and the reports of JAMES  
JACKSON and MORRIS CHILDS

At this point, the NEC unanimously endorsed the work of the CP,USA delegation to the 21st Congress of the CPSU and the reports of the 21st Congress made at this NEC meeting.

Brief Party for GUS HALL and ROBERT THOMPSON

At the conclusion of this NEC meeting, which lasted from approximately 10:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., several persons from "The Worker" office and the New York District office were invited to the National Office for a drink to welcome back GUS HALL and say goodbye to BOB THOMPSON who has to return to jail within a week unless one or two very remote legal possibilities give him freedom for a little longer.

Meeting of the NEC on Friday, 4/24/59

The NEC is scheduled to meet again on 4/24/59. Among items to be discussed at this session are Youth Matters and preparations for the National Convention.



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

DATE: 4/28/59

FROM : SA JAMES E. REILLY

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
SM - C

Identity of Informant: NY 2353-S\* (Conceal and paraphrase)

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past

Date: 4/13/59

NY 2353-S\* has reported that on 4/13/59, PHIL BART contacted CONNIE BART. PHIL complained about a pain in his arm and expected to be home soon.

- 1- New York (100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (422)
- (1) New York (100-56579) (422)

JER:gms

(2) gms

100-56579-3332

415

A.P. Quinn

F B I

Date: 4/28/59

Transmit the following in

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-52444)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-27452)(415)  
SUBJECT: ROBERT THOMPSON  
IS - C

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of information contained herein inasmuch as said information, by its nature, tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof.

On 4/28/59, NY 694-S\* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that on 4/27/59, he conferred with ROBERT THOMPSON, CP, USA Executive and Organizational Secretary, and with GUS HALL, newly appointed CP, USA Secretary in charge of the Mid-West Coordinating Committee.

4 - Bureau	(100-52444) (RM)
	(1-100-3-69) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
2 - Cleveland	(100- ) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (INFO) (RM)
	(1-100- ) (GUS HALL)
1 - Chicago	(134-45) (CG 5824-S) (INFO) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91	(INV) (415)
1 - NY 100-80641	(CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (415)
1 - NY 100-89590	(CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (415)
1 - NY 100-96985	(CP, USA - UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES) (415)
1 - NY 100-74560	(CP, USA - FUNDS) (415)
CP - NY 100-56579	(PHIL BART) (422)
1 - NY 100-64061	(JACK CHILDS) (415)
1 - NY 100-8529	(MARY KAUFMAN) (424)
1 - NY 100-27452	(415)

ACB:msb (415)  
(17)

100-52579-3333  
APR 28 1959  
J. D. Quinn

Approved: JK  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

NY 100-27452

In view of THOMPSON's anticipated return to jail, it was agreed that GUS HALL would replace THOMPSON in contacts with NY 694-S regarding all matters previously of mutual interest to THOMPSON and the informant. PHIL BART, it was agreed, would replace THOMPSON in contacts with the CP, USA Finance Committee, such contacts to be made with JACK CHILDS, a member of the said Finance Committee.

GUS HALL remained at the conference for only fifteen minutes while the above matters were discussed. After his departure, THOMPSON requested that during THOMPSON's absence, NY 694-S handle the following personal matters for him:

From funds of THOMPSON's in the possession of NY 694-S, the latter, through THOMPSON's attorney MARY KAUFMAN, is to pay \$25.00 per week to THOMPSON's daughter ELLEN, and \$20.00 per month to an institution where another child of THOMPSON's is confined.

NY 694-S also is to pay MARY KAUFMAN \$500.00 for legal services rendered to THOMPSON.

The informant at the time of the meeting with THOMPSON gave the latter \$1,000.00 from THOMPSON's funds for current expenses.

THOMPSON informed NY 694-S that he had been examined a few days before by two neuro-surgeons, one of whom recommended immediate surgery, and the other of whom did not. By reason of this "split decision," he was not inclined to have surgery at this time. He felt that during his incarceration, he would avoid surgery unless it should be absolutely necessary.

THOMPSON expressed the opinion that he was leaving the Party "in good shape," and that henceforth there would be no open factional fights in the Party. He anticipated that there would be harrassment of the Party by the Government, and for that reason recommended that "not all our people should operate openly--particularly people in the trade unions." He predicted that although now small, the Party would grow larger eventually.

THOMPSON concluded his remarks by stating that if, for some particular reason, NY 694-S should have to contact him while he is in jail, the informant should do so through MARY KAUFMAN.

O F F I C E    M E M O R A N D U M    \* \* \*    U N I T E D   S T A T E S   G O V E R N M E N T

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5/4/59

Re New York airtel dated April 26, 1959.

UTMOST CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING  
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A  
HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on April 26, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This oral information was reduced to writing on April 30, 1959. This information consists of a brief summary of the sessions of the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA held on April 25, 1959, in New York City.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-12464) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS)
- 2 - Birmingham (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-743) (HOSEA HUDSON)
- 3 - Boston (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-20779) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-775) (HOMER BATES CHASE)
  - (1 - 100- ) (MARTIN JOHNSON)
- 2 - Buffalo (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-16449) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-11933) (MILTON ROSEN)
- 2 - Butte (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-5350) (JOHN HELLMAN)

See "1" pages for additional copies.

100-56579-3334

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MAY 1959	
FBI - CHICAGO	

*Handwritten signature: A. J. Quinn*

CG 100-33741

- 3 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-17257) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-421) (GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
- 2 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-2050) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-11093) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-9529) (EMANUEL BLUM)
- 5 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-26044) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-4663) (BEN DOBBS)
  - (1 - 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
  - (1 - 100-52571) (CHARLENE MITCHELL)
  - (1 - 100- ) (PETTIS PERRY)
- 2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-42-I) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-11125) (ALAN SHAW)
- 2 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-1878-P) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 61-29) (CLARENCE SHARP)
- 5 - Newark (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-4284) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (JOE BRANDT)
  - (1 - 100-35106) (LOTTIE GORDON)
  - (1 - 100-32233) (LEW MOROZE)
  - (1 - 100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY)
- 2 - New Haven (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-1873) (SID TAYLOR)
- 42 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-81752) (CP-USA, Brief) (415)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CP-USA, International Relations) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (415)

CG 100-33741

New York copies (continued)

(1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question) (415)  
(1 - 100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)  
(1 - 100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (422)  
(1 - 100-32826) (JAMES ALLEN) (415)  
(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)  
(1 - 100-25623) (ERIK BERT) (422)  
(1 - 101-559) (JESUS COLON) (415)  
(1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (416)  
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)  
(1 - 100-26776) (CHARLES DIRBA) (425)  
(1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)  
(1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)  
(1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (415)  
(1 - 100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-14691) (ABNER GREEN)  
(1 - 100-7658) (LEM HARRIS) (415)  
(1 - 100-83317) (HOSEA HUDSON)  
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-52959) (CHARLES LOMAN) (422)  
(1 - 100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)  
(1 - 100-79025) (MILDRED MC ADORY) (415)  
(1 - 100-56862) (ROJUS MIZARA) (411)  
(1 - 100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (423)  
(1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)  
(1 - 100-58535) (CONSTANTINE RADZIE) (416)  
(1 - 100- ) (ALEX ROSNER)  
(1 - 100-5700) (ART SHIELDS) (425)  
(1 - 100-111666) (JACK SHULMAN) (415)  
(1 - 100-67234) (RUTH SHULMAN) (425)  
(1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
(1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-49430) (PAT TOOHEY)  
(1 - 100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (415)  
(1 - 100-103273) (ROSE WEINSTOCK) (415)  
(1 - 100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (424)  
(1 - 100-19679) (ISADORE WOFSY) (415)

3. - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-31723) (CP-USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-38020) (JOE ROBERTS)  
(1 - 65-1686) (THOMAS NABRIED)

CG 100-33741

- 3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-27747) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 65-1242) (ALBERT LIMA)
  - (1 - 61-415) (AL RICHMOND)
- 2 - Seattle (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-127) (BURT NELSON)
- 12 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-18963) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Factionalism)
  - (1 - 100-18953) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-24729) (EMANUEL BLUM)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
  - (1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-18457) (RALPH TURNER)
  - (1 - 100-20289) (JAMES WEST)
  - (1 - 100-2749) (MOLLIE WEST)

*JEK* JEK/kw  
(98)

April 26, 1959

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

The first day of sessions of the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA were held in Room #10-C at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City, on Saturday, April 25, 1959.

Persons in Attendance

The following persons were in attendance at this meeting of the National Committee:

JAMES ALLEN  
WILLIAM ALBERTSON  
HERBERT APTHEKER  
PHIL BART  
ERIK BERT  
EMANUEL BLUM  
JOE BRANDT  
HOMER BATES CHASE  
MORRIS CHILDS  
JESUS COLON  
BEN DAVIS  
EUGENE DENNIS  
CHARLES DIRBA  
BEN DOBBS  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
BETTY GANNETT  
SI GERSON  
LOTTIE GORDON  
ABNER GREEN  
FLO HALL  
GUS HALL  
LEM HARRIS  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
JOHN HELLMAN  
HOSEA HUDSON  
JAMES JACKSON  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
MARTIN JOHNSON  
ANTON KRCHMAREK  
SAM KUSHNER  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
MICKEY LIMA  
CHARLES LOMAN

HY LUMER  
MILDRED MC ADORY  
GEORGE MEYERS  
CHARLENE MITCHELL  
ROY MIZARA  
GEORGE MORRIS  
LEW MOROZE  
THOMAS NABRIED  
BURT NELSON  
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON  
PETTIS PERRY  
IRVING POTASH  
CONSTANTINE RADZIE  
AL RICHMOND  
JOE ROBERTS  
MILTON ROSEN  
CLARENCE SHAMP  
ALAN SHAW  
ART SHIELDS  
JACK SHULMAN  
RUTH SHULMAN  
JACK STACHEL  
SID TAYLOR  
BOB THOMPSON  
PAT TOOHEY  
RALPH TURNER  
LOUIS WEINSTOCK  
ROSE WEINSTOCK  
JAMES WEST  
MOLLIE WEST  
EVELYN WIENER  
CARL WINTER  
ISADORE WOFKY



Also present was the editor of the Hungarian paper "Magyar Jovo" (possibly ALEX ROSNER).

### Greetings

BURT NELSON was elected Chairman of the sessions on April 25, 1959. JACK STACHEL suggested that greetings be sent to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, GIL GREEN, and HENRY WINSTON.

### Report of JAMES JACKSON on the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)

JAMES JACKSON gave a long, rambling report on the 21st Congress of the CPSU. He read several quotations from the speech of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and other speeches delivered at the 21st Congress of the CPSU. After JACKSON's report, there was a break for lunch.

### Report by ROBERT THOMPSON on the Pre-Convention Discussion

After lunch, it was announced that ROBERT THOMPSON may go to jail any day and it was requested that the agenda be altered to give his report at that time.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT then made a short speech praising the work of ROBERT THOMPSON as Executive Secretary of the Communist Party - USA. He said that the Communist Party should try to get a medical parole for THOMPSON. He stated that THOMPSON had an appointment to see a physician about possible surgery. He described how THOMPSON was injured in jail, and called BOB THOMPSON indestructable.

THOMPSON gave a report containing ideas he presented and a summary of the discussion in the National Executive Committee on the previous day in regard to the aims and purposes of the pre-Convention discussion. He said that he was speaking for the National Executive Committee. There was no discussion of THOMPSON's report. It was pointed out that the pre-Convention discussion will be dealt with at the July, 1959, meeting of the National Committee.

BOB THOMPSON then proposed that the National Committee empower the National Executive Committee to set up temporary convention committees, such as a committee to prepare the officers report, a committee to prepare the main resolution, a committee to

prepare a resolution on the Negro question, a Constitution committee, a special committee on the Party program, and a general resolution committee. It was not necessary for the National Committee to vote on these committees, since they are temporary.

#### Telegram of Protest of a Lynching in Mississippi

BEN DAVIS then asked for the floor and proposed that a telegram be sent to the Federal Government and to the Governor of Mississippi protesting the lynching of Negro, M. C. PARKER, in Mississippi. The telegram would hold the Federal Government responsible for the lynching because it is not enforcing integration laws.

IRVING POTASH suggested that they wait until it was known that a lynching had occurred. POTASH was shouted down. WILLIAM L. PATTERSON and CARL WINTER were assigned to assist BEN DAVIS in the editing of the telegram.

#### Additional Reports on the 21st Congress of the CPSU

In a report lasting approximately one hour, MORRIS CHILDS gave a report dealing with the 21st Congress of the CPSU. CHILDS said that he had been travelling and was a guest at the 21st Congress of the CPSU. He emphasized the tasks of the Communist Party - USA in the United States in the struggle for peace.

GEORGE MORRIS, who complained that he had not been given any notice that he was to make a report, spoke for approximately one hour on the 21st Congress of the CPSU. It was learned that he spoke from a 64-page pamphlet which he has written on the Soviet Union.

#### Discussion of the Reports on the 21st Congress of the CPSU

Although an effort was made to eliminate any discussion of the reports on the 21st Congress of the CPSU, this was protested and a discussion was permitted. HOMER BATES CHASE, DOROTHY HEALEY, JACK STACHEL, JOHN HELLMAN, JESUS COLON, SAM KUSHNER, LOUIS WEINSTOCK, and CARL WINTER participated in the discussion. CHASE complained that the Communist Party - USA was not defending the Soviet Union and had not defended the action of the Soviet Union in Hungary.

A motion was made to endorse the three reports on the 21st Congress of the CPSU. This motion was endorsed with enthusiasm. It should be pointed out that this motion is inconsistent with the statement of the Communist Party - USA that it had only one delegate at the 21st Congress of the CPSU. In order to be consistent, only the report of JACKSON should have been endorsed.

Report on the Moving of the National  
Headquarters of the Communist Party - USA  
from New York City to Chicago

After a decision was made not to adjourn for dinner, JACK STACHEL, speaking for the National Executive Committee, made a report on the moving of the national headquarters of the Communist Party - USA to Chicago. He said that the possible advantages of having the headquarters in Chicago were that Chicago is an industrial center, that it is centrally located geographically, and that the atmosphere for building the Party might be better in Chicago. However, it is now too close to the time for the National Convention to move the headquarters. Further, New York City is close to Washington, D.C., is a larger city than Chicago and does have some industry.

STACHEL explained that the decision of the 16th National Convention to move the headquarters was not carried out earlier because there were public protests in Chicago against this move. Further, the factional alignment in the Party had not been cleared up. Now there is a resurgence of McCarthyism in the United States. The United States Supreme Court is under attack and there is a growing tension in the United States over the Berlin crisis. To start such a big move now would require the Party to demobilize and invite attacks against it.

He pointed out that the headquarters has been in New York for thirty-two years and has established institutions in New York. It has a cadre in New York. It has "Political Affairs", "Mainstream", and "The Worker" in New York. There would also be the danger of a dual center if the national headquarters were moved to Chicago, since not all the important people could be moved from New York City to Chicago.

STACHEL said that membership and funds also present a problem. At the time of the 16th National Convention, the Party had 18,000 members. In approximate figures, the national membership is currently just a little more than one-third of that amount.

In the three principal Districts in the Midwest -- that is, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio -- there are a total of 1,200 members, while New York has twice that number. The bulk of the rest of the membership is in California, which has as many members as the three Midwestern Districts mentioned.

In regard to funds, the New York District makes up about 60% of the deficit of "The Worker" each year. In addition, a small convention would cost \$25,000, while a larger convention would cost \$35,000. It would cost \$50,000 to move to Chicago. Thus, it would be necessary to raise \$225,000 by the end of the year in order to hold a convention and to move the headquarters to Chicago. This is impossible and impractical. In addition, many established Party institutions and many families would have to be moved. STACHEL said that he just could not see this as a practical proposition at this time. He recommended that the national headquarters remain in New York City and that the National Committee send a letter to the membership explaining why the move cannot be made and why this matter should be submitted to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA.

STACHEL also stated that he would recommend the setting up of a stronger Midwestern Bureau with one of the Party Secretaries in charge.

By way of comment, it was learned that EUGENE DENNIS is not anxious to have GUS HALL in the National Office. Further, that DENNIS spent only a few minutes with HALL when the latter came to New York City. HALL said to DENNIS, Maybe I should stay in Cleveland. DENNIS replied that this would be fine and that HALL could be added to the National Executive Committee as one of the National Secretaries and could be in charge of the Midwestern Bureau.

STACHEL also recommended that a Midwest edition of "The Worker" be issued and that consideration be given to re-instituting the "Daily Worker" in time for the 1960 Presidential campaign.

#### Discussion and Motion on STACHEL's Report

SAM KUSHNER made a speech in opposition to the National Executive Committee proposals on the moving of the national headquarters to Chicago. He launched into an attack against CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT without naming LIGHTFOOT. He stated that the District Board in Illinois was not consulted about the public attack in Chicago in regard to the moving of the national headquarters to Chicago.

LIGHTFOOT then stated that at the time the decision of the 16th National Convention to move the national headquarters to Chicago was made public, there was hostility to this move on the part of the people in Chicago. He stated that he believes that this hostility does not exist at the present time.

JAMES WEST supported the remarks of LIGHTFOOT. By way of comment, it was learned that SAM KUSHNER had previously told LIGHTFOOT that he would support the proposals of the National Executive Committee, and then KUSHNER double crossed LIGHTFOOT. This was the reason for WEST's support of LIGHTFOOT.

CARL WINTER attacked the National Executive Committee decision and proposals. While admitting that it was impractical to move the national headquarters at this time, he said that in the letter to the membership the national leadership should admit that it made a terrible mistake in not carrying out the decision of the 16th National Convention at an earlier date.

#### Votes on the Proposals in Regard to Moving the National Headquarters to Chicago

CARL WINTER's amendment lost by a vote of 18 to 12. The vote on JACK STACHEL's proposal was as follows: 26 in favor, 2 opposed, and 6 abstentions.

#### CHARLES LOMAN Matter and Adjournment

MOLLIE WEST asked what is being done about CHARLES LOMAN. A motion was passed that the resident National Executive Committee members should decide if the CHARLES LOMAN matter should be taken up by the National Committee. The meeting adjourned at this time until Sunday, April 26, 1959.

In a subsequent conversation, it was learned that EUGENE DENNIS stated that the resident National Executive Committee members decided to tell the National Committee that the New York District is currently investigating the CHARLES LOMAN matter, but has not taken final action as yet. Therefore, it will be proposed that the National Committee postpone action in this matter until the decision of the New York District is known.

NY-112

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100- 56579) (422)

FROM: SA  b6  
b7C

DATE: 5/4/59

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
SM - C

The above captioned subject was observed entering and/or leaving 23 West 26th St., New York, New York.

NY 1726-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 4/21/57 that effective 4/15/57 the National and New York State offices of the Communist Party would occupy the premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

NY 694-S\* on 6/5/58 advised that the editorial staff of "The Worker" was to be moved into the building at 23 West 26th Street on 6/7,8/58.

NY 2002-S\* on 6/20/58 verified the occupancy of the basement and first floor areas of building by the office staff of "The Worker", an East Coast weekly Communist newspaper.

DATE

OBSERVED BY SAS

4 /20 /59

4 /24/59

/ /59

/ /59

/ /59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

b6  
b7C

A log covering the above surveillances is being maintained in NY file 100-4031 Sub O.

FJM:gms

(1)

*gms*

*100-56579-3335*

SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INDEXED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MAY 4 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H.P. Quinn*

*5/4*

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5/4/59

Re New York airtel dated April 25, 1959, containing a brief summary of the sessions of the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA held on April 24, 1959.

UTMOST CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on April 24, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This oral information was reduced to writing on April 30, 1959:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-12464) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS)
- 3 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-17257) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-421) (GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
- 2 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-2050) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 20 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-81752) (CP-USA, Brief) (415)
  - (1 - 100-87211) (CP-USA, Factionalism) (415)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CP-USA, International Relations) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (415)
  - (1 - 100-81338) (CP-USA, Security Measures) (415)

See "11" page for additional copies.

100-56529-3336

H.P. Quinn

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MAY 7 1959	
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H.P. Quinn

CG 100-33741

New York copies (continued)

(1 - 100-89590) (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry) (415)  
(1 - 100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)  
(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)  
(1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (416)  
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)  
(1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)  
(1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415)  
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES E. JACKSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-52959) (CHARLES LOMAN) (422)  
(1 - 100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)  
(1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
(1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-105078) (HYMAN LUMER) (415)

4 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-27747) (CP-USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-26076) (AL LANNON)  
(1 - 65-1242) (ALBERT LIMA)  
(1 - 97-26) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)

2 - Seattle (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-127) (BURT NELSON)

6 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)  
(1 - 100-18953) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)  
(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)  
(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
(1 - 100-14652) (JAMES KELLER)

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(41)



April 29, 1959

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA met for the second day of sessions on Friday, April 24, 1959, in the National Headquarters of the Communist Party - USA, located at 23 West 26th Street, New York City.

Persons in Attendance

National Executive Committee Members

The following members of the National Executive Committee were in attendance on April 24, 1959:

BEN DAVIS	HY LUMER
EUGENE DENNIS	GEORGE MEYERS
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	BURT NELSON
GUS HALL	IRVING POTASH
JAMES JACKSON	JACK STACHEL
ANTON KRCHMAREK	ROBERT THOMPSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT	CARL WINTER
MICKEY LIMA	

Invitees

The following invitees were also present at this meeting:

BILL ALBERTSON  
PHIL BART ✓  
MORRIS CHILDS  
ARNOLD JOHNSON

Report by ROBERT THOMPSON on What the Communist Party - USA Should Stress in the Pre-Convention Discussion

Speaking without an outline, ROBERT THOMPSON gave a rambling and disjointed report on what the Communist Party - USA should stress in the pre-Convention discussion. He stated that agreement was needed on the over-all problems facing the Communist Party. The purpose of the discussion should be to further consolidate the unity of the Party. We should also determine what issues the leadership should center attention on during the discussion. He offered the opinion that the National Executive

Committee should play a role of leadership in the pre-Convention discussion, but that it should also learn from the membership during the discussion.

Then THOMPSON said that it is his opinion that the Communist Party has emerged from one aspect of the internal crisis. The Communist Party now has the capacity to repel the revisionist danger and the ultra-Left danger. However, it remains to be seen whether or not the Party has the capacity to play a vital role in the trade union movement and to use Marxism-Leninism creatively in order to supply policy and tactics to the labor movement.

THOMPSON ventured the opinion that the Communist Party is beginning to do mass work. He said that the question to be answered is the following: Can the Communist Party implement its policies? In order to do that, the leadership has to mobilize the Party membership to discuss these policies during the pre-Convention period. He said that there is a danger of a certain complacency setting in. This complacency may be based on the belief that there is no danger from the Right since the removal of JOHN GATES and SID STEIN, and no danger from the Left since the ultra-Left continues to splinter. Therefore, there is nothing more to worry about in the Communist Party.

Then THOMPSON offered the idea that in the pre-Convention discussion the Communist Party should have a forward look. However, before entering the discussion, the Party needs to define the main problems before it and before the people, and then to spell out its role and its relation to the labor movement.

He said that the first task is to re-equip the Communist Party with a body of policy and tactics in order to raise the effectiveness of the Communist Party in the area of trade union work, in the Negro people's movement, among the youth, and in the field of political action.

Then THOMPSON said that it is necessary to re-establish the relationship between the leadership and the membership. There is a need for a new caliber of leadership in the Party. What is needed is a leadership which uses initiative and really leads; a leadership that is not a mere custodian of the Communist Party. This leadership would have to show quality and volume. THOMPSON said that there is a need for criticism and self-criticism. This leadership has to develop a capacity for it. However, while doing this, it cannot over-criticize the

Communist Party. The leadership will have to admit some mistakes but in admitting mistakes, it cannot do it in a partisan way.

THOMPSON indulged in some personal self-criticism concerning JOHN GATES. He said that when he was released from jail he criticized GATES in principle. However, he had a fondness for GATES and as a result of this he, in a sense, interfered with the action of the Communist Party against GATES.

Concerning mistakes of the Communist Party - USA, BOB THOMPSON stated that if he were to outline the mistakes of the Party, he would list four main mistakes committed by the Party, and these are: (1) Until recently, there has been no fighting defense for Communist Party ideology. Since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the Communist Party - USA has been downgraded. (2) It was wrong to raise the slogan of a United Party of Socialism. There was no basis in United States reality for such a party. This slogan gave legitimacy to the revisionists. (3) The Communist Party made a mistake on the characterization of the main danger. While the Party now sees revisionism as the main danger, it was rather late in recognizing this. He suggested that in emphasizing the Right danger as the main danger now, it should not be done in a way to disarm the Party against the danger of Left sectarian moods which may prevail in some quarters. (4) The Communist Party committed some serious errors concerning democratic centralism. This was the outgrowth of the 16th National Convention. At this point, THOMPSON informed the National Executive Committee that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER had submitted a six-page letter on democratic centralism and had requested that it be presented to the National Committee.

Next THOMPSON stated that in order to have a full and creative pre-Convention discussion, the Party must end factionalism and must break up the KELLER-LANNON faction.

Turning his attention to organization, THOMPSON stated that some features of a new style of work need to be initiated now. He said that the way the Party is presently organized, one would think that it still has 50,000 members. It has too many departments, commissions, etc. The Communist Party leadership is not keeping good hours. Communist Party offices should be opened evenings so the membership can talk to the leadership, if it so desires. In the National Office and in the District offices, a structure is needed whereby the leadership will be field organizers. The leadership should go into the field and deal with every problem.

THOMPSON went to the blackboard and wrote the figures "between 5½ and 6 thousand" as the current membership of the Communist Party - USA. There was some dispute about this figure. JACKSON said that when he was in Russia, he had used 9,000 as the current membership figure. THOMPSON finally conceded that he had used a conservative estimate based on dues payments, and that it might be possible to register a national membership somewhere between 7,000 and 9,000.

THOMPSON then stated that public appearances on the part of the leadership are necessary. He commented that BEN DAVIS, ARNOLD JOHNSON, and HY LUMER are doing this. In this manner, the Communist Party will fight through and break through to the people.

THOMPSON also talked about the need for refreshing the leadership. He said new forces should be drawn into the leadership at the next National Convention. He stated that it was correct to bring PHIL BART into the National Office to take his place in the organization field. There is nothing else that could be done. However, he asked what will happen in five years. He said BART does not solve that question. Therefore, there is a need for newer people in the leadership.

THOMPSON concluded by emphasizing that the branch or club of the Communist Party must be the basic working unit of the Party. The life and activity of the Communist Party must reside in the lower organizations.

When THOMPSON concluded, he said that he had a prior engagement and would return to the meeting in a couple of hours. It was decided to take up a couple of matters before proceeding with a discussion of THOMPSON's report.

Instructions of EUGENE DENNIS Concerning the  
Presentation to the National Committee of the  
Communist Party - USA Policy as a Result of  
the 21st Congress of the CPSU

EUGENE DENNIS proposed the setting up of some committees to work on the Party program for the Convention. He said that these will be committees of the National Executive Committee. They will be announced to the National Committee, but the National Committee will not have to vote on them.

Then he asked how the discussion on the 21st Congress

of the CPSU should be conducted at the National Committee meeting the following day. He said that he thought that JAMES JACKSON should lead a discussion on the struggle for peace and the meaning of the 21st Congress of the CPSU for the United States. MORRIS CHILDS should lead a discussion showing how peaceful competition with the Socialist countries will not hurt the United States.

Using the blackboard, DENNIS wrote that the approach should be that what the Communist Party - USA will do should not flow from the 21st Congress of the CPSU, but from the objective situation in the United States. Everyone at this National Executive Committee meeting agreed with this approach.

Discussion of the Criticism of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN in an Article by BORIS PONOMAREV in the "Kommunist"

EUGENE DENNIS said that the National Office had received a letter from the Northern California District in regard to an article by BORIS PONOMAREV in the "Kommunist", in which WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN is described as one who has joined the open camp of imperialism.

DENNIS informed the full National Executive Committee that during the previous week, the resident members of the National Executive Committee had endorsed an action of the Communist Party - USA delegation to the 21st Congress of the CPSU. He said that this delegation had asked the "Kommunist" to make a correction in regard to SCHNEIDERMAN. He also said that the resident members of the National Executive Committee had prepared a brief letter for the "Kommunist", and he asked the full National Executive Committee to endorse the action of JAMES JACKSON and "his associate" in this matter. DENNIS then read a few lines from this letter.

Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

MICKEY LIMA took exception to the National Executive Committee letter, since it contained a remark that BILL SCHNEIDERMAN is not in agreement with the line of the Communist Party - USA. LIMA said that he does not want to censure or characterize BILL SCHNEIDERMAN merely because SCHNEIDERMAN voted against the line of the National Committee. He said that if this procedure is followed, anyone who votes against a majority decision will be "labeled".

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS said he thought that the National Executive Committee should merely ask for a correction in the "Kommunist". He then launched into a tirade against SCHNEIDERMAN.

Remarks of IRVING POTASH

IRVING POTASH said that in the past, the "Daily Worker" has slandered individual leaders of the leadership of the Soviet Union. Yet, the CPSU never asked for a correction because one of its leaders was slandered. He said that while he favors asking that a correction be made in the "Kommunist", he does not think that it is necessary to make a big issue out of it.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON and MORRIS CHILDS

JAMES JACKSON made a brief report concerning his actions in asking for a correction in the "Kommunist" while he was in Moscow. CHILDS verified what JACKSON had said. CHILDS also said that he had talked to a member of the Editorial Board of the "Kommunist", but did not name him. CHILDS said that this person admitted that in a previous article in the "Kommunist" regarding the Communist Party - USA, D. SHEVIGAN had made a mistake in naming A. B. MAGIL and BILL SCHNEIDERMAN and admitted that the polemic should have been conducted without naming names.

By way of comment, it is possible that CHILDS may have talked to BORIS PONOMAREV and that PONOMAREV was the person CHILDS referred to as a member of the Editorial Board of the "Kommunist".

Remarks of GUS HALL

GUS HALL said that in view of the fact that the Communist Party - USA delegation to the 21st Congress of the CPSU raised this issue, it will probably be corrected by the "Kommunist". He, therefore, suggested that this matter be dropped.

Endorsement of the Letter of the  
Resident Members of the National  
Executive Committee

MICKY LIMA finally agreed to endorse the letter of the resident members of the National Executive Committee, which amounts to an endorsement of the action of the Communist Party - USA

delegation to the 21st Congress of the CPSU in which it called attention to the error in the "Kommunist" and asked for a correction. The National Executive Committee then adopted the letter of the Resident Board or resident members of the National Executive Committee.

Letter From WILLIAM Z. FOSTER with the  
Caption, "Speech on Democratic Centralism  
in the Communist Party - USA"

At this point, ARNOLD JOHNSON read a six-page letter from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. While the letter had a caption, "Speech on Democratic Centralism in the Communist Party - USA", it deals with every subject imaginable and is supposed to be a platform for the pre-Convention discussion.

This letter was so rambling, incoherent and provocative that apparently no one wanted to make a comment about it. Everyone sat silent for several minutes until BOB THOMPSON returned, and it was decided to start the discussion on THOMPSON's report.

It was agreed that while FOSTER wanted his letter presented to the National Committee on April 25 or 26, 1959, that the letter would open up the pre-Convention discussion and nothing else would be accomplished at the National Committee meeting. It was decided to prepare FOSTER's letter for publication and to distribute it to the National Committee members prior to the July, 1959, meeting of the National Committee, which will organize the pre-Convention discussion scheduled to start in August, 1959.

Discussion of ROBERT THOMPSON's Report on  
What the Communist Party - USA Should Stress  
in the Pre-Convention Discussion

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON said that BOB THOMPSON's report defines the lines of the pre-Convention discussion. He said that he agrees with the aims of the pre-Convention discussion as set forth by THOMPSON. He stated that there must not be a repetition of previous pre-Convention history. He said that he was amazed at the national membership figure given by THOMPSON.

#### Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER said that he was of the opinion that they should guard against the Communist Party being dragged back to where it was a few years ago. It will be necessary to be careful about what is said about the Communist Party leadership in the pre-Convention discussion or the result might be mutual annihilation. He stated that political problems should not become personal problems. He said that the leadership should prepare now in order to prevent some people, under the guise of pre-Convention discussion, from riding the hobbyhorse of factionalism.

WINTER further stated that it is possible for the Communist Party to have a pre-Convention discussion which is perfectly correct in the abstract, but which would result in the annihilation of the Communist Party and its leadership. He said that whatever problems there are in the leadership, they should be considered as a collective burden.

WINTER closed his remarks with a warning that the Communist Party should not downgrade the 16th National Convention and treat it as though it will be replaced by the 17th National Convention. He pointed out that a convention is the highest authority in the Party. Its decisions are made by the delegates; therefore, you cannot charge that a convention was completely wrong. He urged that they tread lightly and carefully in criticizing the 16th National Convention.

#### Remarks of GUS HALL

GUS HALL stated that the next convention should be a forward-looking convention and must not be an inward-looking convention. The analysis and discussion should be based on the objective situation in the United States. He said that there should be unity in the evaluation of policy. Only under such conditions will the Communist Party move forward. He said that the Party cannot discard the 16th National Convention. Whatever changes will be made in the Communist Party line at the 17th National Convention should be made naturally.

HALL concluded with some remarks on criticism and self-criticism. He said that the Communist Party - USA has to learn to use criticism and self-criticism dialectically. It must not use the approach of psychoanalysis, which is very subjective. The leadership must set boundaries to criticism and self-criticism.



The leadership cannot let this run wild. Unless boundaries are set, the Party will give enemy agents sent into the Party a terrible weapon, which can result in the destruction of the Party cadre.

#### Remarks of IRVING POTASH

IRVING POTASH said that there is a need for unity of purpose which brooks no factionalism. This should be the central guide in the preparation for the convention. He warned that the rank-and-file does not organize factions, but leaders do. Usually the most backward and inactive people are attracted. If there is a factional approach to the 17th National Convention, it will destroy the Communist Party - USA.

POTASH said that whatever differences there are, they should be brought out into the open and discussed self-critically and within certain boundaries.

In conclusion, POTASH repeated his opening remarks, which is a paraphrasing of LENIN -- That is, that the leadership needs unity of purpose which brooks no factionalism.

#### Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON said that he did not agree with CARL WINTER's formulation on the 16th National Convention. He said that the formulation is too tight. If the Communist Party is going to make corrections, it should point out what it is correcting. The Party will have to talk about the influence of the revisionists in the past and on the 16th National Convention.

In regard to safeguarding the leadership, there is more to it than mere collectivity. The leadership needs to build up trust and mutual confidence.

#### Remarks of BEN DAVIS

After a few insignificant remarks by GEORGE MEYERS, BEN DAVIS said he thinks that the Communist Party needs a convention. In fact, he had been in favor of an earlier convention. He said he agrees that the Party needs unity, but unity in a dialectical sense. He said that the unity of the National Committee meeting of February, 1958, which ousted the revisionists, is insufficient today. He repeated the suggestions of ROBERT THOMPSON for a leadership which uses more initiative and talks to the masses.

Remarks of HY LUMER

HY LUMER said that there are dangers that the Communist Party will get into the wrong kind of a discussion and that it can review only the past and resort to factionalism. He said he would prohibit factional discussions.

Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

MICKEY LIMA said that while he agreed with the outlook of THOMPSON's report, he thought that THOMPSON did not stress the mass work of the Communist Party -- that is, looking outwardly.

Remarks of ANTON KRCHMAREK

KRCHMAREK warned that there is a terrible situation in the Communist Party because of the downgrading of the leadership. He said that some people foster a distrust in the leadership. He stated that they should be careful how they treat the leadership in the pre-Convention discussion. KRCHMAREK said that there has been a gap between the national leadership and the membership which is ten years old and dates back to the time the leaders went to jail or into the underground.

Remarks of BURT NELSON

BURT NELSON said he would propose that they organize a convention of Communist Party builders through mass workers and look outwardly to a greater extent.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL said that the Communist Party should discuss how to correct some of the decisions of the 16th National Convention, but should be careful in its discussion not to discard it. Also, the importance of the Communist Party should be emphasized because even active members have a tendency to underestimate the Communist Party because of its small number of members at this time. He said that perhaps the Party should review its contributions. Despite its size, it is a factor in the United States and is the only Marxist-Leninist party in the United States.

STACHEL then delved into some self-criticism. He said that he has made many mistakes in his Communist Party life. However, the biggest mistake he made was in regard to Hungary. He referred to a meeting of the staff of the "Daily Worker", in

which he did not fight hard enough against the policy of JOHN GATES in regard to Hungary. He said that while at this time he could not change the policy, he did not fight hard enough in his opposition to it. JACK STACHEL said that at that time he argued that if the Communist Party - USA did not come out in full support of Hungary, then the Party might be more acceptable to the American people. He described this as a tactical approach and thus a tactical error, rather than an error in principle.

STACHEL went on to the question of mass work. He said that the Communist Party should claim credit for some things which have been happening in the United States. He stated that the Communist Party can build only through mass work.

STACHEL challenged the statement of BEN DAVIS concerning the inadequacy of the unity in the leadership subsequent to the February, 1958, meeting of the National Committee. He asked DAVIS, Does this mean that you repel Communist Party members who go along with the Party even though they made mistakes in the past? Or, are you going to have the theory of permanent realignment and permanent revolution?

At this point, BEN DAVIS asked for the floor. DAVIS said that he did not mean what STACHEL implied. He did mean that the Party leadership had unity with individuals such as CHARLES LOMAN against the revisionists. DAVIS asked, Would you say that this unity is now adequate in view of LOMAN's current position?

#### Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS said that he agreed with the positive note of THOMPSON's report, but would have to supplement it with the essence of most of the discussion at this meeting. He said that he agreed particularly with the views of GUS HALL.

DENNIS said that he can agree with BURT NELSON's slogan of Party builders through mass work, but what is needed is an over-all, united Communist Party to fight for peace, civil liberties, civil rights, and for a democratic front for jobs and an improvement in the economic situation. It is also necessary to spell out these things. These are the things the Communist Party is fighting for.

DENNIS said that in preparing for the pre-Convention discussion and in order to give a lead to the Party, he would urge

that they have a positive examination of the Communist Party's contribution to many struggles, particularly to the Youth March and the unemployment mobilization. He said that in some districts, the Communist Party has inspired a fight for FEPC legislation.

DENNIS admitted that some negative things would have to be brought out in the pre-Convention discussion. He stated, however, that the discussion should be so organized that the negative cannot overshadow the positive. He agreed with the comments of IRVING POTASH about factionalism and the danger it can do. He said that the need for eradication of factionalism would have to be raised at the National Committee meeting.

Continuing, DENNIS said that the unity of the National Executive Committee is most important. If the National Executive Committee is united, you unite the Communist Party. In preparing for the convention discussion, the leadership should examine the work of the Party in every important field. He said that this was not done prior to the 16th National Convention. DENNIS stated that he agreed with the ideas expressed at this meeting about the need for criticism and self-criticism.

Then DENNIS proposed that when BOB THOMPSON makes his report to the National Committee, he should keep in mind that this year is the 40th Anniversary of the Communist Party -- USA. This is important because it proves the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in the United States. He said that he was opposed to a discussion of THOMPSON's report at the National Committee meeting. He stated that he felt that a document should be prepared so that it can be introduced at the July, 1959, meeting of the National Committee. He reminded the National Executive Committee that the pre-Convention discussion does not start until mid August, 1959.

#### Summary by ROBERT THOMPSON

In a summary of the discussion, BOB THOMPSON said that he is of the opinion that preparation for the National Convention should be taken up at the National Committee meeting the next day. He agreed that the question of mass work should be the chief center of the pre-Convention discussion. He stated, however, that the pre-Convention discussion will have to take up inner Party questions, a discussion of mistakes, and the discussion of the relationship of the leadership to the membership. THOMPSON said that he agreed with EUGENE DENNIS that the 40th Anniversary

of the Communist Party - USA should be utilized in order to stress Communist Party consciousness. He said that he also agrees that the unity of the National Executive Committee is most important and a prerequisite for unity is agreement on policy and more comradeship in the National Executive Committee. Members of the National Executive Committee should not be ready to chop off each others' heads after a debate. Then THOMPSON said that there will be strains in the National Executive Committee during the discussion. These stresses and strains will not be factional, if the National Executive Committee has a comradely approach.

Next THOMPSON said that the National Executive Committee should learn how to work with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. FOSTER is sick and isolated. It is necessary to be patient with FOSTER, since he can still make contributions to the Party. THOMPSON stated that he is not afraid of factionalism from the extremes; that is, the Right wing or the ultra-Left, but if it spreads to the Central leadership, the Party will have real problems.

In conclusion, THOMPSON said that he was leaving soon to return to jail and he wondered if he had made any contributions while in office. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said that someone should say something about THOMPSON's contributions to the Party at the National Committee meeting, since he personally feels that BOB THOMPSON did a good job. LIGHTFOOT was immediately given this task and someone remarked that a few words of praise will be said for LIGHTFOOT when he goes to jail.

#### Agenda for the National Committee Meeting

EUGENE DENNIS said that they have a big agenda for the National Committee meeting. He proposed the following:

Saturday, April 25, 1959

Reports on the 21st Congress of the CPSU.

A report on the status of moving the headquarters to Chicago.

A short, informational report on the Trade Union Commission meeting being held on Friday evening, April 24, 1959.

A short, informational report on preparations for the National Convention.

Sunday, April 26, 1959

A report on the Youth March to Washington.

A report on youth matters and a possible youth organization.

HY LUMER protested that there should be a discussion on the pre-Convention discussion, but agreed that the agenda was too big. DENNIS said, Let the people who want a discussion on the pre-Convention discussion let us know how to do it.

It was finally agreed that the agenda would stand as announced by DENNIS. THOMPSON would make a report on the pre-Convention discussion. An effort would be made to discourage debate on it by saying that this is the approach of the National Executive Committee. Further, that the July, 1959, meeting of the National Committee would prepare for the pre-Convention discussion. It was further agreed that the agenda might be altered as a result of developments in the National Committee meeting, itself.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

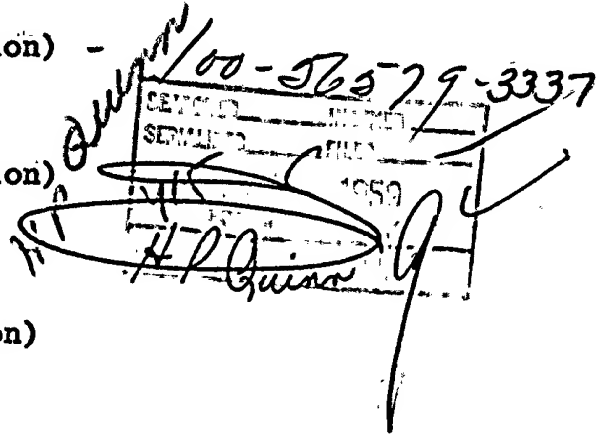
DATE: 5/5/59

Re New York airtel dated April 27, 1959, containing a summary of the sessions of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, held on April 26, 1959, as furnished by CG 5824-S\*.

UTMOST CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on April 26, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages pertaining to the sessions of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, held on Sunday, April 26, 1959. This oral information was reduced to writing on April 30, 1959.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-12464) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS)
- 2 - Birmingham (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization) -
  - (1 - 100-743) (HOSEA HUDSON)
- 3 - Boston (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-20779) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-775) (HOMER BATES CHASE)
  - (1 - 100- ) (MARTIN JOHNSON)
- 2 - Butte (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-5350) (JOHN HELLMAN)



See "i" pages for additional copies.

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CG 100-33741

- 3 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-12757) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-421) (GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
- 3 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-2050) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) ((FNU) MC ADOO) (ph)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-11093) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-9529) (EMANUEL BLUM)
- 5 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-26044) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-4663) (BEN DOBBS)
  - (1 - 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
  - (1 - 100-52571) (CHARLENE MITCHELL)
  - (1 - 100- ) (PETTIS PERRY)
- 2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-42-1) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-11125) (ALAN SHAW)
- 2 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-1878-P) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 61-29) (CLARENCE SHARP)
- 3 - Newark (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-4284) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (JOE BRANDT)
  - (1 - 100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY)
- 42 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-81752) (CP-USA, Brief) (415)
  - (1 - 100-87211) (CP-USA, Factionalism) (415)
  - (1 - 100-89691) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question) (415)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CP-USA, International Relations) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (415)
  - (1 - 100-89590) (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80644) (CP-USA, Youth Matters) (415)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, New York District, Youth Matters) (416)



CG 100-33741

New York copies (continued)

(1 - 100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)  
(1 - 100-32826) (JAMES ALLEN) (415)  
~~(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)~~  
(1 - 100-9369) (TED BASSETT) (425)  
(1 - 100-100308) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 101-559) (JESUS COLON) (415)  
(1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (416)  
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)  
(1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)  
(1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (415)  
(1 - 100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-7658) (LEM HARRIS) (415)  
(1 - 100-83317) (HOSEA HUDSON)  
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-52959) (CHARLES LOMAN) (422)  
(1 - 100-105078) (HYMAN LUMER) (415)  
(1 - 100- ) (MARVIN MARKMAN)  
(1 - 100-79025) (MILDRED MC ADORY) (415)  
(1 - 100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (423)  
(1 - 100-47211) (STEVE NELSON)  
(1 - 100-91330) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)  
(1 - 100-58535) (CONSTANTINE RADZIE) (416)  
(1 - 100-111666) (JACK SHULMAN) (425)  
(1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
(1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)  
(1 - 100-49430) (PAT TOOHEY)  
(1 - 100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)  
(1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)  
(1 - 100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER) (424)  
(1 - 100-19679) (ISADORE WOFSY) (415)

b6  
b7c

4 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-31723) (CP-USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Youth Matters)  
(1 - 65-1686) (THOMAS NABRIED)  
(1 - 100-38020) (JOE ROBERTS)

3 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED) -

(1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-3463) (Cominfil - United Steel Workers of America)  
(1 - 100-1763) (STEVE NELSON)

CG 100-33741

- 2 - Richmond (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-7601) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (LOUIS KALB)
- 5 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-47791) (CP-USA, Factionalism)
  - (1 - 100-27747) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-26076) (AL LANNON)
  - (1 - 65-1242) (ALBERT LIMA)
  - (1 - 61-415) (AL RICHMOND)
- 2 - Seattle (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-127) (BURT NELSON)
- 1 - Washington Field (100- ) (Youth March on Washington-1959)  
(REGISTERED)
- 13 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-18953) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-18957) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Youth Matters)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Youth March on Washington - 1959)
  - (1 - 100-24729) (EMANUEL BLUM)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
  - (1 - 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-18457) (RALPH TURNER)
  - (1 - 100-20289) (JAMES WEST)
  - (1 - 100-2749) (MOLLIE WEST)

*JEK* JEK/kw  
(103)

April 26, 1959

Time, Type, and Place of Meeting

The second day of sessions of the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA were held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City, on Sunday, April 26, 1959.

Persons in Attendance

The following persons were in attendance at the meeting of the National Committee on April 26, 1959:

BILL ALBERTSON	HY LUMER
JAMES ALLEN	MILDRED MC ADORY
PHIL BART	GEORGE MEYERS
TED BASSETT	CHARLENE MITCHELL
EMANUEL BLUM	GEORGE MORRIS
JOE BRANDT	TOM NABRIED
HOMER BATES CHASE	BURT NELSON
MORRIS CHILDS	STEVE NELSON
JESUS COLON	WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
BEN DAVIS	PETTIS PERRY
EUGENE DENNIS	IRVING POTASH
BEN DOBBS	CONSTANTINE RADZIE
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	AL RICHMOND
BETTY GANNETT	JOE ROBERTS
SI GERSON	CLARENCE SHARP
GUS HALL	ALAN SHAW
FLO HALL	JACK SHULMAN
LEM HARRIS	JACK STACHEL
DOROTHY HEALEY	ROBERT THOMPSON
JOHN HELLMAN	PAT TOOHEY
HOSEA HUDSON	RALPH TURNER
JAMES JACKSON	LOUIS WEINSTOCK
ARNOLD JOHNSON	WILLIAM WEINSTONE
MARTIN JOHNSON	EVELYN WIENER
ANTON KRCHMAREK	JAMES WEST
SAM KUSHNER	MOLLIE WEST
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT	CARL WINTER
MICKY LIMA	ISADORE WOFSY
CHARLES LOMAN	

PATTERSON was present for only a short while, and BOB THOMPSON for only a few minutes.

Also present was an unidentified male from Virginia, described as follows:

Race	White
Height	5'6"
Weight	165 lbs.
Age	35 years
Build	Chubby
Hair	Light brown and thinning

This person was subsequently identified from a photograph as LOUIS KALB.

Also present were four individuals representing the youth, and they included MARVIN MARKMAN and MATT BORENSTEIN, of New York, and one MC ADOO (ph), from Detroit.

Report on the Youth March and a Youth Organization, by HYMAN LUMER

Youth March to Washington

After GUS HALL was elected Chairman for the sessions of April 26, 1959, HY LUMER read a draft statement on the Youth March to Washington held April 18, 1959. It is believed that this statement was prepared by HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, who was not present at this National Committee meeting. The National Executive Committee will publish this statement, incorporating some of the discussion of this meeting into the statement.

The Youth March was described as a great historical event, with 36 national organizations, including the National Students Organization, the United Christian Youth, and the Spanish Youth Organization. Also, there were many prominent individuals as sponsors. It was stated that the petition campaign provided a minimum program for the mobilization of the people. The number of participants in the March more than doubled those of the previous Youth March. The police count was 26,000. Over 400,000 signatures were obtained, even though only 250,000 were turned in.

Continuing with the reading of the statement, LUMER said that many white youth from the South were involved in the March. A large contingent of youth were under trade union banners. Some District Councils of unions sponsored youth participating in the March.

The March succeeded in getting a small, inter-racial delegation into the White House, although the President was not there at that time. The statement pointed out that this March has all the dimensions of an expanding youth movement. However, further consolidation is necessary. The natural leaders are those who originally organized the March. This March movement does not replace any other youth organizations. It is an inter-racial youth movement based on the number one domestic issue in the United States -- integration.

Continuing, LUMER read that this Youth March movement is going to continue the petition campaign. It will get more signatures and at an appropriate time when it can attract the most attention, it will present these petitions to Congress.

According to the statement read by LUMER, there were some negative, although small, features in the Youth March. A dangerous note of discord was struck by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH in his speech. This was in contrast to the speech of Reverend LUTHER KING, even though KING said that this Youth March was not a picketing of the White House. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH talked about the dangers of Communism in Africa and Berlin. While the youth did not listen to him and were restless during his speech, RANDOLPH did engage in some red-baiting.

This was the essence of the statement on the Youth March to Washington.

#### Communist Party Youth Work and a Youth Organization

HY LUMER also made a report on the Party youth work and a youth organization. His report was based mainly on a document previously issued by the National Executive Committee. He said that the need for young people in the Party cannot be overemphasized. The failure to influence young people is dangerous. Delay in or failure to work among the youth is bad. Work among the youth and the establishing of a youth organization is long overdue.

LUMER stated that this is only an initial report on policy. The Communist Party still needs to study the youth, the economic questions facing the youth, the thinking of the youth in the United States, etc. Quoting some statistics, LUMER said that the percentage of youth sixteen years of age or older who are attending school has risen from 51% to 81%, in comparison

with a decade ago. The student youth is the largest part of the youth population. The statistics further point out that in 1955, nine and one-half million children came from families earning less than \$45.00 per week, while two and one-half million came from families earning less than \$10.00 a week. These were mainly from agricultural areas.

Concerning unemployment, the percentage of unemployed youth in the sixteen to seventeen age bracket is 15%, while in the eighteen to twenty-four age bracket it is 14%. The percentage of unemployed among the Negro youth is double. The percentage is as high as 30% among the Negro youth. Even the percentage of unemployed among the white youth is almost four times the average percentage of unemployment in the United States today. This is why the job problem is the most important problem for the youth, both those in and out of school. It is particularly acute in distressed areas.

Then LUMER said that 40 billion dollars are appropriated for armaments, but there is a shortage of 140,000 class rooms and 40,000 teachers. The deterioration of the educational system in the United States is quite obvious. The launching of the Sputniks proved that the educational system in the Soviet Union is superior to that of the United States. LUMER said that naturally juvenile delinquency is a big problem in the United States.

Turning his attention to youth organizations in the United States, LUMER said that most of these are chiefly service organizations. There are only a few youth organizations devoted to struggle, even though there is a revival of a youth movement taking place in the United States. As examples of youth organizations which have been revived, he mentioned the American Christian Youth and the National Student Organization. He stated that they endorsed the March on Washington and fought for the mobilization of youth.

LUMER emphasized the upsurge of the youth movement in the United States. He said that it is spontaneous and represents a fight for jobs and peace, for education and for an end to discrimination.

He talked about the role of the Left and the Communist Party, and why they are needed in the youth movement. He said that the Communist Party must assume responsibility for the developing of a national youth organization. The Party should develop

a program for the youth and build a movement for a National Youth Act.

Parenthetically speaking, at one time during the New Deal days, there was a big program to adopt legislation termed the National Youth Act.

LUMER said that the World Youth Festival has a wide potential. The bourgeoisie tried to sabotage it, but they could not. The World Youth Festival can result in a movement for friendship and for peace. In New York, California and Illinois, there is some activity in connection with the World Youth Festival. In other cities, not much is going on in this regard, but many hundreds of youth from the United States will participate in the World Youth Festival in Vienna, Austria.

Turning to the question of a youth organization, LUMER said that in and around the Communist Party there are close groupings of youth, but no co-ordination. These youth groups are made up of young adults, since the youth marry early these days. Most of the Party youth are not in youth clubs as yet. In most Districts of the Communist Party, there are no approaches for a youth organization. However, among the youth in the Communist Party there is an intense interest in Marxist-Leninist education.

LUMER said that when the Labor Youth League was liquidated, the Trotskyites succeeded in attracting some of these youth but they were soon disillusioned and left. The Young People's Socialist League did get a new lease on life as a result of the merger with the Shachtmanite youth. They issue a paper called "Challenge", but the membership is very small. He said that the Young People's Socialist League acts as a magnet in attracting youth, but it cannot retain them. The Trotskyites drive away youth and cause disillusionment with Socialism.

According to LUMER, there is within the Communist Party a divergence of opinion as to the kind of youth organization needed. He quoted from the National Executive Committee document on youth matters to substantiate this. He said that the National Executive Committee has had two discussions on the youth and is of the opinion that there is a place in the United States for an organization of Socialist-minded youth. While the Communist Party is not now issuing a blueprint, there is a need to form a youth organization which will: (1) Be capable of developing mass ties with other youth; (2) Educate youth in regard to the nature of

Socialism and Socialist countries; and (3) Adapt itself to the conditions in the country so that it would be legal. This would be a nation-wide organization.

LUMER further stated that the National Executive Committee rejects an article entitled "An Appeal to Youth", which appeared in "Political Affairs" approximately one year ago. He described it as a sectarian, negative document which attacked the Communist Party and the Party leadership. He said that actually this article called for a junior Communist Party. This article was sectarian, suffered from vanguardism, and was anti-Communist Party. The group which prepared the article was factional. It had contacts with the ultra-Left and the extreme Left.

By way of comment, on the use of the term "vanguardism", LENIN said that the leading organization of the working class is the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class. No other party can act as the vanguard. The youth who wrote "An Appeal to Youth" are charged with trying to set themselves up as a vanguard or as a group which knows more than the Communist Party.

LUMER said that there is to be a conference on the youth in New York City during the Memorial Day weekend. There will also be a conference in the fall, at which time a youth organization will be set up. He then read six or seven proposals on how to proceed to set up a youth organization. These proposals are contained in the National Executive Committee statement.

LUMER said that a committee of three is in existence, although it is not a youth commission. BILL ALBERTSON, IRVING POTASH, and LUMER constitute this committee of three. He said that they will suggest the publication of a bulletin to deal with youth problems.

#### Questions Directed to LUMER

At this point, LUMER was asked, Why has there not been a time limit set for the establishing of a youth organization? LUMER said that this could not be done by the Communist Party. The Party will have to sound out the youth and the youth will have to establish the organization after some discussion.

LUMER was asked if the Communist Party - USA had studied youth organizations in other countries, and he answered



in the negative. Next LUMER was asked if there are any similarities between the organization proposed by the Communist Party now and the Labor Youth League. He replied that there are some similarities, but also some differences.

#### Discussion of LUMER's Reports

##### Remarks of TED BASSETT

TED BASSETT spoke about the Youth March to Washington. He said that while some estimates were higher, he accepted the police count of 26,000 participants. He said that while other means of transportation were used, they know that 419 bus loads of youth arrived in Washington.

BASSETT said that the last page of the speech delivered by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH called for a continuation of the cold war. However, as a result of some disagreements in the committee in charge of this March to Washington, the worst part of RANDOLPH's speech was deleted. He said that it was announced that Communists were not invited to participate and neither were the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Councils.

##### Remarks of (FNU) MC ADOO, from Detroit

After some brief remarks by CHARLENE MITCHELL and GEORGE MEYERS, MC ADOO, a Negro youth from Detroit, spoke. He said that LUMER should not have called the article "A Call to Youth" and the SCOPE group factional. He said that while he was in agreement with the report on the Youth March to Washington, he was not in agreement with the proposals for a youth organization in the National Executive Committee statement.

##### Remarks of FLO HALL

FLO HALL stated that 412 persons from Chicago participated in the Youth March. Of this number, 25 were sponsored by trade unions. Approximately 102,000 signatures were collected for the petition in Chicago. She said that the youth commission in Chicago played a big role in the mobilization of the Marchers. HALL said that there are two Party youth groups and two teenage groups in Chicago. She said that she was in favor of HY LUMER's reports.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

After HOMER BATES CHASE disagreed with LUMER's reports and DOROTHY HEALEY talked about conducting youth polls, BEN DAVIS said that he thought there should have been separate reports and separate discussions on the Youth March and a youth organization. He stated he thought that LUMER's report on a youth organization is sound. It is necessary to break up factions even among the youth. He said that while the Left played a role in the Youth March to Washington, it was not a dominant role. One positive feature of the Youth March movement is that it accepted mass action as a form of struggle. DAVIS warned that it is necessary to be careful and not to attack A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, since the Youth March movement is a coalition movement.

By way of comment, DAVIS was very quiet and subdued throughout this National Committee meeting.

Remarks of MARVIN MARKMAN

After some brief remarks by AL RICHMOND, MARVIN MARKMAN spoke. He said that LUMER's report on a youth organization is a step forward, but the aims for a new youth organization are not set forth as clearly as they could be.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON agreed with LUMER's report on organization. He said he favors a broad organization of the youth with Communists, even if not known as such, belonging and giving leadership.

Remarks of MATTHEW BORENSTEIN

MATTHEW BORENSTEIN said that LUMER's report on a youth organization is generally correct.

Remarks of BILL ALBERTSON

BILL ALBERTSON said that the Party will have to use all forms in order to influence the youth movement. The Party will have to organize a Marxist-Leninist organization, which will lead a broad youth movement. There is also a need for further organization of the youth who marched to Washington.

Remarks of BURT NELSON

BURT NELSON talked about the factional role of AL LANNON among the youth on the West coast. He said that LANNON is writing letters and making telephone calls.

Remarks of TOM NABRIED

TOM NABRIED, of Philadelphia, stated that a youth organization is needed. He said that the Communist Party youth club in Philadelphia was, to a large extent, responsible for the contingent of youth from Philadelphia who went to Washington.

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON said that a Communist youth organization is needed. The Party needs to approach the youth. This is required in the struggle for peace. He also said a few words about the struggle for peace.

Remarks of BEN DOBBS

BEN DOBBS agreed with LUMER's report on a youth organization. He said that there is a need for activities in a broad, mass movement of the youth.

Remarks of JOHN HELLMAN

JOHN HELLMAN said that the Party has to be patient with the youth. They make mistakes but they are bold. Therefore, the Party has to tolerate them.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

After PETTIS PERRY said that he agreed with LUMER's report on a youth organization, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that he agreed with BEN DAVIS that the reports on the Youth March and on a youth organization should not have been combined, since it left little time to assess such an important movement as the March on Washington. He stated that this was the largest number of people to go to Washington in a body since the days of the Bonus March.

LIGHTFOOT spoke of the need to enlarge this March movement. He said that there should be no illusions that the next March will have double the number of participants; that is, 50,000 marchers. It is necessary to organize on a local basis.

There is segregation in Northern cities. There should be a struggle for integration in the Northern cities, as well as in the South.

#### Summary by HY LUMER

In a summary, HY LUMER stated that a youth organization will come into being. In the struggle, the Communist Party has to be careful to insure that there is no adventurism. He welcomed the criticism of MC ADOO. He said that while factionalism among the youth has lessened during the past few weeks, in the past some of the youth adopted a factional approach. The perspective has to be to put an end to factionalism.

#### Endorsement of LUMER's Reports

The National Committee voted to endorse LUMER's reports. Only HOMER CHASE voted against them. The report on a youth organization was adopted on the basis that it is an endorsement of LUMER's proposals in the National Executive Committee statement on the youth.

It was also voted that in the statement on the Youth March on Washington the remarks about A. PHILIP RANDOLPH should be softened.

#### Remarks by GUS HALL

Before the adjournment for lunch, GUS HALL made a few remarks. He said that he was going to apply for a job in the Communist Party so that they might as well know his position. He pointed out that he was in military service during the BROWDER crisis and was in jail during the JOHN GATES crisis. He said that comrades all over the world are glad that the Communist Party - USA defeated revisionism and are probably glad that there is still a Communist Party in the United States. He said that when he was in prison, he did not think that the Communist Party would survive, so he is glad that there is still a Communist Party - USA.

HALL stated that he went to Mexico, but detoured to Kansas. He said he would not recommend this and that some day they will have to discuss this problem.

In a discussion of cowardice, he said that there are all kinds of cowardice. It is not always physical. He stated

that he had done some thinking in prison and that JOHN GATES had also done some thinking in prison. He then charged JOHN GATES with cowardice.

HALL stated that there is a need to be objective and dialectical. There is a need for contact with the masses in order to know what the masses are thinking. Then a program and organization can be formulated based on the realities as they exist among the masses. In the past, the Communist Party would conjure up an organization, talk themselves into it, and then would be discouraged when it failed. It would fail because it was not real.

HALL condemned sectarianism and said that it is necessary to combine principle with flexibility as long as the Party holds firm to Leninism. He quoted HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, who characterized ABRAHAM LINCOLN as being hard, but not as hard as a brick wall. He was more like a steel cable. HALL said that Marxism-Leninism is like a steel cable. If the Communist Party holds on to Marxism-Leninism, it can sway from side to side, but will always come out where it is supposed to.

In conclusion, HALL stated that he is not discouraged and is more than ever convinced that Communism will win and perhaps will win much faster than anyone had thought possible.

At the conclusion of his remarks, GUS HALL received a large ovation.

#### Report by IRVING POTASH on the Situation in the Steel Industry

At the conclusion of the discussion on youth matters, IRVING POTASH gave a summary of the meeting of the Trade Union Commission, which was held on Friday evening, April 24, 1959. He said that the Communist Party will issue a statement on the possible strike in the steel industry.

POTASH said that the steel conflict should be the main concentration of the Communist Party. The outcome of the negotiations in the steel industry may set an economic pattern and even a political pattern for all of labor, if the steel corporations have their say. The steel corporations and the Federal Government are on the offensive against the workers. He said that EISENHOWER's declaration on the situation in steel was anti-labor and sounded like an order. This was followed by a barrage against labor by Senator STYLES BRIDGES and J. EDGAR HOOVER, who said that

Moscow gave orders to infiltrate the steel industry. POTASH said that he can foresee interference by the United States Government in the event of a strike and it is more than likely that a strike will take place, even though the union is not prepared. The union leadership has not alerted the membership on the grounds that they want to keep their cards hidden so that they will not expose their demands. The steel corporations are rushing production and have a large stock pile in the event of a strike.

POTASH said that there is a deep discontent among steel workers because of working conditions. The steel workers are ready to fight, but distrust the union leaders.

At this point, GEORGE MEYERS challenged this statement by POTASH. POTASH said that this is what the steel workers say. MANNY BLUM agreed with POTASH.

POTASH next stated that there is a reservoir of Left and progressive supporters in the steel unions. Maximum pressures must be placed against the steel corporations and the Federal Government. The workers must be united and organized. Local actions should be organized where possible. Within the union it is necessary to organize all groups and all caucuses for the demands of the steel workers. It is also necessary to pay attention to the Negro workers and the unemployed workers.

Continuing, POTASH said that it is necessary to have local initiative and approaches to other trade unions in order to put pressure on the local governments to support the demands of the steel workers. All of these things could lead to victory.

#### Role of the Communist Party

In talking about the role of the Communist Party, IRVING POTASH said that the Communist Party can make a special contribution to victory. The Party needs a realistic estimate of its forces in steel. We have to admit candidly that there are very few Communist Party people in the steel industry. The test is how these few and how the Communist Party generally will work. He suggested that around the strike the Communist Party make an effort to activate members and sympathizers and bring into effect the entire concentrative effort of the Communist Party. He suggested the use of the press and the increased circulation of "The Worker". He said "The Worker" should carry more news on steel. More leaflets should be issued by the Communist Party, which is preparing a brochure in the name of the Party.

POTASH said that the Communist Party can create a solidarity mood. So far, only the Teamsters have offered support to the steel workers. The Communist Party should try to get the United Auto Workers, the United Packinghouse Workers of America, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and other unions to show solidarity and prepare support for the steel workers.

POTASH ended by asking the endorsement of the National Committee for the statement the Communist Party will issue on the situation in the steel industry.

#### Discussion of the Report of IRVING POTASH

##### Remarks of SI GERSON

SI GERSON suggested that the Communist Party statement should stress the anti-monopoly aspect of price rises. The Communist Party should blame monopolies for price rises and should show that monopolies can grant increases in wages without a rise in prices. The Communist Party should also say that it is against inflation.

##### Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

GEORGE MEYERS said that he is against calling DAVID MC DONALD a person who is steethed in class collaboration. While it is true that MC DONALD bargains with the bosses, no one has exposed monopoly more than MC DONALD. MEYERS said that he still disagrees with the statement that the membership of the United Steel Workers distrusts MC DONALD. When somebody asked about those who supported the Rarich movement, MEYERS quieted down and the motion was passed that the Communist Party should issue a statement on the situation in the steel industry.

##### Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

At this point, EUGENE DENNIS asked for the floor in order to introduce a motion, give out information, and make observations.

DENNIS praised GUS HALL and the remarks HALL made at this meeting. He said that the National Executive Committee unanimously recommends that HALL be elected to the National Executive Committee. A vote was taken and HALL was elected to the National Executive Committee. Then DENNIS said, We expected this.

vote. We have already elected GUS HALL as a Secretary of the Party and he is to be the Secretary of the Midwest Co-Ordinating Committee.

EUGENE DENNIS said that the leadership will have to carry out all decisions of this National Committee meeting, including those pertaining to the March on Washington, a youth organization, the telegram on the lynching in Mississippi, and the pamphlet on the situation in the steel industry.

After reminding the National Committee members that a fund drive is being conducted, DENNIS said that there are powder kegs in the world today and these include Berlin and Taiwan. He stated that the Communist Party has to mobilize and convince the people to call for an end of the atomic arming of West Germany. Further, the Communist Party should convince the people to influence the foreign ministers' conference. He said, We need to imbue the Communist Party and progressive Americans with the majestic Seven-Year Plan of the Soviet Union. He also talked about the significance of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

DENNIS said, We have the realistic prospect of ridding society of the worst social calamity -- that is, a world war. He stated that the idea that there is no fatalistic inevitability of war flows from the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and this idea was tested at the time of the invasion of Egypt.

DENNIS stated that United States imperialism can launch a war, but this adventurism is diminishing with time. In 1958, United States imperialism, through the Pentagon, interfered in Lebanon, Taiwan, and Indonesia. United States imperialism was rebuffed and check-mated. In the last year, United States imperialism was rebuffed in Venezuela and Cuba.

In conclusion, DENNIS said that it is the responsibility of the Communist Party to give confidence to the people so that they can understand that war can be eliminated. The Seven-Year Plan of the Soviet Union will make it more difficult for the war mongers to launch a war. It is necessary to mobilize broad forces for the struggle for peace.



OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-83)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33732)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5/5/59

Re New York airtel dated April 28, 1959, containing information furnished by CG 5824-S\* concerning a meeting of members of the National Committee and leading functionaries of the Communist Party - USA, held on April 27, 1959.

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on April 27, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This oral information was reduced to writing on April 30, 1959:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Boston (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-23165) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
  - (1 - 100-775) (HOMER BATES CHASE)
- 2 - Butte (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
  - (1 - 100-5350) (JOHN HELLMAN)
- 3 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
  - (1 - 100-421) (GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
- 2 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 4 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
  - (1 - 100-23423) (CP-USA, Political Activities)

See "1" pages for additional copies.

100-56579-3338

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Los Angeles copies (continued)

- (1 - 100-4663) (BEN DOBBS)
- (1 - 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)

2 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
- (1 - 100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY)

14 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-89691) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues) (415)
- (1 - 100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
- (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
- (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (416)
- (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- (1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
- (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- (1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- (1 - 100-91330) [REDACTED] (415)
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- (1 - 100-49430) (PAT TOOHEY)
- (1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)
- (1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (416)
- (1 - 100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (415)

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3 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-33636) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
- (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Political Activities)
- (1 - 65-1686) (TOM NABRIED)

4 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
- (1 - 100-25347) (CP-USA, Political Activities)
- (1 - 65-1242) (ALBERT LIMA)
- (1 - 61-415) (AL RICHMOND)

2 - Seattle (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
- (1 - 100-127) (BURT NELSON)

7 - Chicago

- (1 - A/134-46)
- (1 - 100-19491) (CP-USA, Illinois District, Domestic Administration Issues)

CG 100-33732

Chicago copies (continued)

- (1 - 100-31946) (Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights)
- (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1 - 100-11100) (HILLIARD ELLIS)
- (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

JJK/kw  
(47)

April 27, 1959

Time, Type, and Place of Meeting

On April 27, 1959, there was a meeting of members of the National Committee and leading functionaries of the Communist Party - USA in the National Headquarters at 23 West 26th Street, New York City. This meeting was called in order to discuss civil liberties and the defense of the Communist Party.

Persons in Attendance

The following persons were in attendance at this meeting:

BILL ALBERTSON	ARNOLD JOHNSON
PHIL BART	ANTON KRCHMAREK
HOMER BATES CHASE	CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
MORRIS CHILDS	MICKEY LIMA
BEN DAVIS	TOM NABRIED
EUGENE DENNIS	BURT NELSON
BEN DOBBS	HUNTER PITTS O'DELL
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	AL RICHMOND
GUS HALL	JACK STACHEL
DOROTHY HEALEY	PAT TOOHEY
JOHN HELLMAN	WILLIAM WEINSTONE
JAMES JACKSON	CARL WINTER

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was the Chairman of this meeting.

Report of ARNOLD JOHNSON on Civil Liberties in the United States

ARNOLD JOHNSON gave a report, which he said will be mimeographed and sent to all Districts.

JOHNSON said that there is currently a reactionary putsch against civil liberties in the United States. To substantiate this statement, he cited the following: (1) Current legislation being adopted by Congress and proposed legislation for Congressional consideration; (2) The Denver Smith Act trial; and (3) The proposals of the American Bar Association, even though several State Bar Associations have come out in opposition to these proposals. JOHNSON said that there are presently twenty different legal cases in which the Communist Party has an interest and this does not include contempt cases. He said that the

amnesty campaign has been an erratic campaign but in the case of BOB THOMPSON, there has been quite a response from individuals reached by letter and telegrams.

Next, JOHNSON stated that the American Civil Liberties Union has made recommendations for the defense of the United States Supreme Court as a result of the proposals of the American Bar Association. He stated that the American Civil Liberties Union is more than a mere committee. He also said that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is leading in the struggle for civil rights, while the National Lawyers Guild is supplying attorneys and playing a role in the struggle for civil liberties and civil rights.

He mentioned that the POWELL-SCHUMAN (ph) Committee on the West Coast is playing a role in this struggle.

JOHNSON stated that while there are many defense committees in existence and while each deals with a particular case, the Communist Party has a role to play in the struggle for civil liberties and for the defense of the Party. He stated that the Communist Party needs an organization which can stimulate activities on civil liberties matters and the defense of the Communist Party, especially on things which arise constantly and need to be pursued with continuity.

Continuing, JOHNSON stated that he is of the opinion that the Communist Party should help to establish defense organizations. These would represent a minimum force in each District in order to deal with civil liberties. While the Communist Party would be politically responsible, such organizations would be independent. After these organizations are established in important districts and cities, proposed co-ordinating conferences could be called. Perhaps, the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights could be a sort of national center for all of these local defense organizations.

#### Report of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT made a report, in which he stated that the United States is in a new situation in which the Communist Party and civil rights are under attack despite the defeat of McCarthyism. Even so, he said that he does not believe that there will be a return to the McCarthyite era. He discussed the establishment of the Chicago Defense Office or the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights, and explained its functions.

He said that it has a V.I.P. list of 7,000 which includes trade union leaders, heads of other organizations, ministers, and public opinion makers. He stated that this defense committee acts as a stimulating force which prods others into action. It establishes ad hoc defense committees on this or that issue, but persons on the ad hoc committees have connections with individuals in the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights.

LIGHTFOOT stated that he wants to see a campaign to get HENRY WINSTON out of jail. He said that an individual recently released from the Federal Prison at Terre Haute, Indiana, had talked to HENRY WINSTON and then talked to HILLIARD ELLIS. He told ELLIS that WINSTON said he is being mistreated. He is isolated and given dirty work, but no industrial jobs. WINSTON complained that the prison authorities organized prisoners against him. Further, WINSTON is not satisfied with the amnesty campaign being conducted for him. WINSTON is disturbed and would like the Communist Party to do something about these things. LIGHTFOOT said that ELLIS had gotten this message to him.

LIGHTFOOT said that there is now an agreement between the New York Communist Party District and the Illinois Communist Party District, and he proposes that the other districts reach an understanding for a special campaign for parole and for amnesty for HENRY WINSTON.

LIGHTFOOT exhibited a sample brochure to be issued by the "Friends of Henry Winston". He proposed that 25,000 copies of this brochure be printed and distributed in the Negro communities in the larger cities of the United States in order to show who WINSTON is and why the Negroes have a stake in getting WINSTON out of jail.

In conclusion, LIGHTFOOT urged that defense committees, similar to the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights, be established everywhere in defense of the Communist Party.

### General Discussion

#### Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

DOROTHY HEALEY said that the Communist Party must defend itself and must fight all attacks. It must fight for legality. She stated that there are seven anti-Communist bills before Congress. She said that she was surprised that the

National Committee did not discuss this and issue a public statement concerning these bills.

HEALEY stated that the California Council of the Democratic Party in a recent meeting passed a resolution demanding dissolution of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). She said that there is a lot of sentiment against the HCUA in California. She said it was discredited during its last hearing in California. It is on the defensive and this is why it issued a leaflet on Communist activity in Southern California.

She stated that Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT would not have presented to the House of Representatives a bill to abolish the HCUA unless pressure had been brought.

Continuing, HEALEY commented that since the Democratic Party in California acted officially, this may spread to other States where the Democratic Party carries a liberal mantle.

#### Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER stated that the Communist Party must defend and must explain itself. In regard to amnesty, he said that it might be better to organize for parole. Explaining this, he stated that the average American may believe that a Communist Party member should be jailed. However, the sense of fair play in the average American may cause him to be in favor of parole for Communist Party members when they meet the minimum parole conditions, since criminals convicted of crimes against society are granted parole.

WINTER said that they have a defense committee in Michigan and he believes that local defense committees should be established in all districts.

#### Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS said that the revisionists tried to destroy the Communist Party, but they failed. There is now a resort to Fascist measures, new laws and the courts in order to do that which the revisionists could not do. DAVIS agreed with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the need for local defense committees and the need for a campaign for HENRY WINSTON.

#### Remarks of HOMER CHASE and MORRIS CHILDS

HOMER CHASE talked about the danger of Fascism.

MORRIS CHILDS said that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT deserved credit for organizing the defense committee in Chicago.

Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE

WILLIAM WEINSTONE proposed that the Communist Party issue a statement to expose the new offensive of the imperialists against civil liberties and also to point out that Communist Party members are not part of a conspiracy and are entitled to civil liberties and civil rights.

Remarks of THOMAS NABRIED

TOM NABRIED suggested that something should be done in Pennsylvania to expose and defeat Congressman FRANCIS E. WALTER. NABRIED said that the Communist Party in Pennsylvania should be self-critical, since it did not mobilize liberal congressmen in Pennsylvania to unseat Congressman WALTER. He said that WALTER is at odds with Democrats who control the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania and with some effort could be defeated.

Remarks of MICKEY LIMA

MICKEY LIMA said that the current attack is not only against the Communist Party. While we should get our people to become active, we should do it with other people; that is, people who are interested in civil liberties. He said that the POWELL-SCHUMAN (ph) Committee raised \$40,000 in the San Francisco Bay area, and such a thing might be done on a national scale.

Remarks of AL RICHMOND

AL RICHMOND said that unless the Communist Party mobilizes all progressive sentiment, it could be possible that the GOP will try to use anti-Communism in the 1960 election campaign in the hope of overcoming the defeats of the 1958 campaign. The GOP might accentuate this anti-Communism. Thus, the action of the Democratic Party in California in defense of civil liberties and against the HCUA is most important, since it is an official act by a State organization of the Democratic Party. Similar action might be taken by the Democratic Party in other States and this would do away with the competition with the Republican Party as to which is the more anti-Communist.

RICHMOND stated that the Communist Party needs coordination nationally on civil liberties and the question of



defense. He explained that when people sign a defense petition, there is certain risk involved. They would feel better if they knew that similar things were being done in the rest of the country.

#### Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS said that the attack against the Communist Party is part of a bigger aim of the capitalist class. He stated that those who think that we will revert to McCarthyism are wrong. Other organizations, such as labor organizations and those of the Negro people, are also under attack. They have a stake in the legislation ostensibly aimed at the Communist Party.

Continuing, DENNIS said, You will recall that the amendment to the Smith Act in regard to organizing was passed unanimously. However, it was passed during the height of the Berlin hysteria. This amendment was passed at the very moment the papers were drumming up propaganda for war.

DENNIS said that he agrees with the idea of setting up local defense organizations, but without a united front we are licked. Therefore, other issues such as the amending of the Taft-Hartley Law and the defense of the United States Supreme Court action on desegregation need to be taken up. Local actions should be organized and then local defense organizations established on this or that issue. He said that after some local organizations are set up, we might call a co-ordinating conference.

He suggested that Illinois prepare a memorandum concerning its experiences in establishing the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights.

In conclusion, DENNIS suggested that perhaps a campaign should be started to re-endorse the Bill of Rights in Congress, and with this campaign, to demand the repeal of all measures which have weakened the Bill of Rights.

#### Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL agreed with AL RICHMOND that the Communist Party has to look forward to 1960 and that anti-Communism may become a weapon in the campaign. However, civil liberties and civil rights issues should be used as counter measures against the reactionaries. He said that he is convinced that other forces in addition to the Communists can be put into action, and that

there will not be a repetition of the McCarthyite period.

STACHEL said that as NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV pointed out, there is a danger of Fascism. However, the people still remember the face of Fascism. Only a few years has elapsed since the defeat of HITLER and McCarthyism, so the reactionaries will try new methods and new tricks. Therefore, we have got to be aware of this. He said that what the Party believes in, what face it presents, what it says about civil liberties and force and violence will have an effect.

Proposals by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

After a few remarks by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT introduced the following proposals:

(1) That every Communist Party district should assign some cadre to do defense work. After they are assigned, they should contact the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights.

(2) Every district should make up a mailing list of people in its district for purposes of reaching out to trade unionists, social organizations, and churches. Thus, through the mail, an educational and propaganda campaign can be conducted in order to reach the people and keep them informed.

(3) That a co-ordinating conference composed of people active in the defense movement be called sometime in September, 1959.

These proposals were adopted in general.

ARNOLD JOHNSON will send out a mimeographed report of this meeting and the proposals in a few days.

COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S\*

The leadership of the Communist Party - USA feels that it is again in danger of legal attacks. It will do everything to defend itself. It will try to arouse sympathy by a campaign, stating that the Communist Party was the first to be put on trial ten years ago and this was followed by the period of McCarthyism.

5/5/59

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-31723)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

C I N A L

On 5/1/59, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA RICHARD W. HANSEN that on 5/1/59, THOMAS HARRIED, District Chairman of the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), [redacted] the CPUSA National Office. [redacted] PHIL BART and stated BART would like to come to Philadelphia 5/9/59 to see HARRIED and to discuss matters relating to the CPEPD with HARRIED. BART requested [redacted] HARRIED write to him and suggest an alternative arrangement if this date was not satisfactory.

b7D

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Registered Mail)
- 2 - New York (Registered Mail)
  - (1 - 100-80641)
  - (1 - 100- [redacted] PHILIP BART)
- 5 - Philadelphia
  - (1 - 100-31723)
  - (1 - 100-22157 - PHILIP BART)
  - (1 - 65-1686 - THOMAS HARRIED)
  - (1 - [redacted])
  - (1 - 100-42205 Sub A - CINAL, LIBRARY)

b7D

WEH/KOB  
(10)

100-56519-3339

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 6 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. J. Quinn*

*[Signature]*

96

PH 100-3-69

b7D

[redacted] stated HARRIED made no comment concerning [redacted] and his plans were not known. HART was formerly District Organizer of the CPEPD in the middle and late 1940's.

HENNRICH

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5/6/59

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on April 23, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KRATING the information on the following page. This oral information was reduced to writing on May 4, 1959.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-421) (GUS HALL) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Detroit (100-13420) (CARL WINTER) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-52571) (CHARLENE MITCHELL) (REGISTERED)
- 23 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CP-USA, International Relations) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (415)
  - (1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press)
  - (1 - 100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
  - (1 - 100-32826) (JAMES ALLEN) (415)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
  - (1 - 100-25623) (ERIK BERT) (412)
  - (1 - 100-56) (MIKE DAVIDOW)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (416)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
  - (1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
  - (1 - 100-56835) (VIRGINIA GARDNER)
  - (1 - 100-100351) (SYLVIA HALL)
  - (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
  - (1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
  - (1 - 100-105078) (HYMAN LUMER) (415)
  - (1 - 100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (423)
  - (1 - 100-13444) (JOE NORTH)
  - (1 - 100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)

See "1" page for additional copies.

100-56579-3340

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 8 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. P. Quinn*

CG 100-33741

New York copies (continued)

- (1 - 100-67234) (RUTH SHULMAN) (425)
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- (1 - 100-68934) (JEAN SMITH)
- (1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)
- 1 - Seattle (100-127) (BURT NELSON) (REGISTERED)
- 4 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

*JEK* JEK/kw  
(33)

April 23, 1959

Brief Party for GUS HALL and ROBERT THOMPSON

At the conclusion of the sessions of the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA in the National Headquarters of the Communist Party - USA, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on April 23, 1959, several persons from "The Worker" Office and the New York District Office, as well as persons in New York attending the National Committee meeting, were invited to the National Office for a drink to welcome back GUS HALL and say good-bye to BOB THOMPSON, who was scheduled to return to jail within a week.

Among those participating in this party were:

BILL ALBERTSON	ARNOLD JOHNSON
JAMES ALLEN	CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
PHIL BART	HY LUMER
ERIK BERT	CHARLENE MITCHELL
MORRIS CHILDS	BURT NELSON
MIKE DAVIDOW	JOE NORTH
BEN DAVIS	IRVING POTASH
EUGENE DENNIS	RUTH SHULMAN
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	JACK STACHEL
VIRGINIA GARDNER	JEAN SMITH
GUS HALL	ROBERT THOMPSON
SYLVIA HALL	CARL WINTER
JAMES JACKSON	

During this party, JOE NORTH stated that he had seen JUAN MARINELLO, President of the Partida Socialista Popular, the Communist Party of Cuba, while he was in Cuba.

NORTH also stated that GEORGE MORRIS is a "problem child" and is a headache to the staff of "The Worker" every day.



OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5/6/59

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE  
FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A  
HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on April 23, 1959, orally furnished to  
SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following page. This  
oral information was reduced to writing on May 4, 1959.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

8 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-89691) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues) (415)
- (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership) (415)
- (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (415)
- (1 - 100-128817) (CP-USA, New York District, Membership) (416)
- (1 - 100-128814) (CP-USA, New York District, Organization) (416)
- (1 - 100-12959) (CONNIE BART)
- (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- (1 - 100-91418) (JUNIUS SCALES)

1 - Philadelphia (100-31723) (CP-USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)

2 - Chicago

- (1 - A/134-46)

*JEK/kw*  
(13)

100-56579-3341

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 8 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*415*

April 23, 1959

On April 23, 1959, PHIL BART stated that he had been working in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA for approximately one week, but had been ill most of that time with an attack of the shingles. BART said that his wife, CONNIE, is now the Assistant Organization Secretary in Brooklyn. He stated that they have registered 250 members in Kings County thus far and may possibly reach 300 members. BART also said that he sees no current need for County Organizers in the New York District.

In talking about his own plans, BART said that for the time being he will, as National Organization Secretary, concentrate in the East -- that is, in the New York and Eastern Pennsylvania Districts -- before making any extended trips.

With regard to the Communist Party - USA, BART said that he sees some dangers ahead for the Party in regard to the tax case against the Party by the Internal Revenue Service. He also stated that he is worried stiff about the possible Supreme Court decision in the Smith Act case of JUNIUS SCALES. He explained that his apprehension is brought about by the change in the composition of the United States Supreme Court, and that a decision adverse to the Communist Party in the SCALES case would revive all the "membership" cases under the Smith Act.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/7/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on April 28, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following page. This oral information was reduced to writing on May 6, 1959:

- 2 - Bureau, (REGISTERED)
- ④ - New York, (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (415)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
  - (1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)

*JEK*  
JEK/kw  
(8)

100-56579-3342

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 11 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Drum* *H.P.* *Q*

April 28, 1959

On April 28, 1959, PHIL BART and JACK STACHEL were discussing Communist Party - USA organizational problems in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA, located at 23 West 26th Street, New York City.

In regard to BOB THOMPSON, they stated that they expected that he would have to return to jail by May 11, 1959. They said that it was learned that when THOMPSON suffered the head injuries in Atlanta Penitentiary, the physicians, through an error, cut into one of his sinuses. This may or may not be corrected by surgery, but in any event, it appeared that there was little likelihood that he could avoid returning to jail because of medical reasons.

BART and STACHEL were almost wishing that THOMPSON would have to go to jail, even though they joined the "praising" of THOMPSON's work. They were making plans to re-organize the Organization Department, even if THOMPSON does not go to jail. They stated that if THOMPSON goes to jail, the position of Executive Secretary of the Communist Party - USA would be abolished.

BART and STACHEL suggested that a National Organization Bureau be established. This Organization Bureau would be composed of individuals such as BART, STACHEL, representing "The Worker", the Educational Director, the Trade Union Secretary, the District Organizer, and/or the Executive Secretary of the New York District. This Organization Bureau would meet at least once a week.

It was pointed out that no one bothers to keep minutes of meetings of the resident National Executive Committee, even though it makes all kinds of decisions. One task of the proposed Organization Bureau would be to see that minutes are kept at the resident National Executive Committee meetings. Then this Organization Bureau would sift through the proposals of the resident National Executive Committee and would organize and carry through on the proposals and campaigns.

BART and STACHEL also suggested the formation of a National Organization Commission. This commission would be composed of from ten to twelve persons, including representatives from the New York Counties and District Organizers or Organization Secretaries from nearby Districts. The Organization Commission would meet about once a month for a general discussion of

organization and educational problems from a political point of view.

While these plans are still in the talking stage, BART and STACHEL stated that they planned to present them to the resident National Executive Committee as soon as THOMPSON leaves for jail.

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 5/8/59

FROM: SA SABINO P. CARONE (41)

SUBJECT:

*Phil Bart*  
*DS-C*

The above captioned individual was observed at the May Day rally sponsored by the Trade Union Committee for 1959 May Day celebration on 5/2/59, from 10:00 AM to 2:00 PM in Union Square.

Subject was observed by *Robert Mugavin*  
and a surveillance log is maintained in 100-47142-1B419

*Also observed by Martin Hackett*

*100-47142-1B420*

SPC:rma

*100-56579-3343*

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 8 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H P G*

5/8/59

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-31723)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

C I N A L

Reairtel 5/8/59.

On 5/7/59, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA FORREST F. BURGESS that THOMAS HARRIED [redacted] PHIL (BART) [redacted] that PHIL would come to Philadelphia at 8:30 (AM or PM not stated) 5/12/59. PHIL asked HARRIED to give the info to GENE (DENNIS) as to where PHIL should meet HARRIED.

b7D

This informant also advised that HARRIED [redacted] WILLIAM L. PATTERSON of "The Worker," stating PATTERSON had not heard from HARRIED regarding a date for GEORGE MORRIS (to speak in Philadelphia). PATTERSON said the only dates he had open for MORRIS prior to July 4th were 5/18, 19, 20, 21, 24. He asked that HARRIED tell him whether any of these dates would be suitable.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)  
4 - New York (RM)  
1 - 100-80641  
1 - 100- (PHIL BART)  
1 - 100- (GEORGE MORRIS)  
1 - 100- (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)  
7 - Philadelphia  
1 - 100-31723  
1 - 100-22157 (PHILIP BART)  
1 - 100-28746 (GEORGE MORRIS)  
1 - 65-1686 (THOMAS HARRIED)  
1 - 100-1578 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - 100-42205 Sub A (CINL, LIBRARY)

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WEN:lat  
(14)

100-3-579-3344

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 9 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signature]*

5/8/59

**AIRTEL**

**PH 100-31723**

**NAWYED is the District Chairman, CPEPD, and a member of the CPUSA National Committee.**

**RENNERICH**



## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100- 56579)

DATE: 5/1/59

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b6  
b7CSUBJECT: PHILIP BART  
2415 Newkirk Avenue  
Brooklyn, New York  
SSN 356-14-9954  
SM-C

The Bureau by letter dated 3/11/59, advised that the various Internal Revenue Service district offices have been instructed by IRS Headquarters to interview subjects (former members of CP underground) who apparently failed to file income tax returns for one or more of the years 1953, 1954, 1955. The Bureau authorized the furnishing of pertinent data: for example, subject's current residence, place of employment, to assist the IRS in proceeding with this investigation.

On 4/15/59, Mr. [REDACTED] Intelligence Unit, Bureau of Internal Revenue, 10th floor, 90 Church Street, NYC, telephone RE 2-9100, ext. 8458, furnished a list of names he received from his Washington headquarters in connection with the foregoing investigation. He stated investigation of these individuals for possible violation of Income Tax laws will be commenced immediately.

b6  
b7C

He requested that the following information be submitted on each of the individuals in question:

- (1) Name and all aliases of the subject and his wife.
- (2) The addresses of the subject and/or his wife between 1953-1959.
- (3) Social Security numbers of the subject and/or his wife.

① - New York (100- 56579)

RLP:KCM  
(60) *per*

*Day*

100-56579-3345

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 1 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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NY 100-

(4) The known sources of income for the subject during this period.

(5) Any financial records and banking connections, real estate holdings, or other evidence bearing on the net worth of the subject.

The information requested will be used as a lead for the IRS agents and it therefore will not be necessary to document the source of information.

A letterhead memorandum should be prepared on each subject to which a copy of this memorandum is directed.

It is noted that some of these individuals may no longer reside in the New York area. In such instances a memorandum should be prepared furnishing his current residence.

It is requested that the information desired be prepared by 5/6/59, and forwarded to 415 Desk. They will be turned over to IRS on or about 5/7/59.

For uniformity, it is requested that the memorandum prepared on each of the subjects cover each of the five items as they are set forth in this memorandum.

A copy of instant memorandum has been designated for the file on each of the subjects on list submitted by IRS.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5// /59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on May 1, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. - This oral information was reduced to writing on May 7, 1959:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Butte (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-5350) (JOHN HELLMAN)
- 8 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Factionalism)
  - (1 - 100-26044) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-4663) (BEN DOBBS)
  - (1 - 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
  - (1 - 100- ) (JOHN HELLMAN)
  - (1 - 100-52571) (CHARLENE MITCHELL)
  - (1 - 100- ) (PETTIS PERRY)
  - (1 - 100- ) (NEMMY SPARKS)
- ⑥ - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-87211) (CP-USA, Factionalism) (415)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization) (415)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
  - (1 - 100-105078) (HY LUMER)
  - (1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)

JEK/kw  
(20)

A. P. QUINN

100-56579-3346

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 13 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

May 1, 1959

Time, Type, and Place of Meeting

PHIL BART stated on April 29, 1959, that there was a special meeting of members of the resident National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA and the National Committee members from the Southern California District in the National Headquarters of the Communist Party - USA, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on Tuesday, April 28, 1959.

Persons in Attendance

BART stated that the following were in attendance at this meeting:

BOB THOMPSON	DOROTHY HEALEY
EUGENE DENNIS	BEN DOBBS
PETTIS PERRY	HY LUMER
CHARLENE MITCHELL	JOHN HELLMAN

Discussion on the Move of JOHN HELLMAN to Southern California

JOHN HELLMAN stated that he had received permission of the court to leave Montana and that he was all packed and ready to move in a trailer to Southern California.

BART said that BOB THOMPSON blurted out that HELLMAN was going to become a part of the leadership of the Southern California District. BART stated that by the time THOMPSON finished speaking, the "house caved in".

DOROTHY HEALEY charged BOB THOMPSON and the entire national leadership of the Communist Party - USA with stabbing her in the back and trying to impose a leadership on the Southern California District. She said that the membership in the Southern California District would resent this. EUGENE DENNIS tried to explain that the national leadership was not trying to force HELLMAN into the leadership in Southern California. He said that HELLMAN wanted to move to California because of the ill health of his wife, and that HELLMAN was supposed to get a job and then quietly become integrated into the leadership. BART commented that EUGENE DENNIS was not too persuasive, since BOB THOMPSON had come out with the unvarnished facts.

att #1 to  
100-56579-3346  
- 1 -

According to BART, CHARLENE MITCHELL said, We need leadership in the Southern California District. DOBBS and HEALEY replied that there are forces in the Southern California District which could be brought into the leadership, unless the intention is to bring in someone from the outside for factional reasons. They said, We cannot stop JOHN HELLMAN from coming to California, but the membership will not permit him to be integrated into the leadership.

During this discussion, BART also stated that he had learned that NEMMY SPARKS is on the District Committee of the Southern California District.

5/12/59

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-31723)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

C I N A L

Re myairtels 5/5 and 5/8/59.

On 5/11/59, [ ] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA FORREST F. BURGESS that THOMAS NABRIED stated PHIL BART would not come to Philadelphia 5/12/59, but had delayed this trip until about 5/25 or 26/59, at which time he would probably stay overnight.

b7D

HENNRICH

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Registered Mail)
- 2 - New York (Registered Mail)
  - (1 - 100-80641)
  - (1 - 100-56379)
- 5 - Philadelphia
  - (1 - 100-31723)
  - (1 - 100-22157 - PHILIP BART)
  - (1 - 65-1686 - THOMAS NABRIED)
  - (1 - [ ])
  - (1 - 100-42205 Sub A - CINAL, LIBRARY)

b7D

100-31723-3347

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 13 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. P. QUINN

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WEH/kog  
(10)

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

5/12/59

SA JOSEPH A. CULLEN (#415)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

On 4/29/59, NY 2362-S\* advised of a discussion between EUGENE DENNIS and PHIL BART, held in DENNIS' office, CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date. During the discussion, BART indicated that he had no intention of leaving NY at this time. He commented that "After a month or so, when I am adjusted and have organized here there will be time enough to go to other areas . . . ." DENNIS commented that any trips BART may have to take will be short and indicated that between now and the time of the holding of the convention there will be one or two states which BART will have to give his attention. DENNIS mentioned one as Pennsylvania, stating "What would it mean -- a weekend in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh to put the organization on its feet . . . ." BART concluded the discussion on this point by saying, "After I spend a few weeks around here . . . After that I'll take care of other areas . . . On weekends you can see a lot of guys . . . ."

1 - NY (100- 8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#415)  
① - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#415)  
1 - NY (100-80641) (#415)

JAC:map  
(3)

100-80641-25-3348

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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 12 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*HP Quinn*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

DATE: 5/12/59

FROM : SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
IS - CIdentity of Informant: NY 2010-S\* (Conceal and  
paraphrase)Reliability: Who has furnished reliable  
information in the past

Date: 5/6/59

NY 2010-S\* has reported that on 5/6/59, PHIL BART contacted ISADORE WOFSY at "New Century" and asked if ISADORE had some time as PHIL said he would like to just have a chat with ISADORE since he has not seen him in a long time. ISADORE asked if PHIL would be "there" (CP Headquarters) in the afternoon. PHIL suggested as soon as ISADORE was free and ISADORE replied that maybe he could do it at lunchtime.

1- New York (100-19679) (ISADORE WOFSY) (415)

1- New York (100-56579) (415)

JVW:gms

(2)

100-56579-3349

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FBI - NEW YORK	

H. L. Quinn



OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: 5/12/59

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN  
IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE  
SHOWN OTHERWISE.

On 4/29/59, [ ] dictated eight Dictabelts in the presence of SA RUSSEL HORNER of Newark and SA JOHN A. HAAG of NYO. These Dictabelts contained a statement of the April 25, 26, 1959, meeting of the CP, USA National Committee and a collateral meeting of the CP, USA Trade Union Committee.

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These Dictabelts were transcribed by NYO typist [ ] on 5/4 & 5/5/59 and the resultant statement authenticated by [ ] on 5/6/59. (Location [ ])

The informant's statement is attached.

5 - Bureau (100-3-69)(CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)(RM)(Encl. 1)  
(1-100-3-89)(CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)  
(1-100-3-81)(CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
(1-100-3-76)(CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)(Encl.)  
4 - Chicago (100-33741)(CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)(RM)  
(1-100-2748)(SAM KUSHNER)  
(1-100-3740)(MORRIS CHILDS)  
(1-100-2749)(MOLLY WEST)  
2 - Cleveland (65-721)(ANTON KRCHMAREK)(RM)  
(1-100- )((GUS GALL)  
3 - Los Angeles (100-26044)(CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)(RM)  
(1-100-4486)(DOROTHY HEALEY)  
(1-100-4663)(BEN DOBBS)  
1 - Newark [ ](INV)(RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-27747)(CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)(RM)  
(1-65-415)(AL RICHMOND)  
1 - Seattle (100-127)(BERT NELSON)(RM)  
1 - NY [ ](INV)(41)  
1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)(415)  
1 - NY 100-80644 (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)(415)  
1 - NY 100-13473 (SI GERSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)(415)  
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(415)  
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-13203 (GEORGE MORRIS)(423)  
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)(415)

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EXTENDED BY SP/100-23-79  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
CP, 11, 1-2.4.2. 2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 10-23-89

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JAH:msb  
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100-56579-3350

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SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 12 1959	
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H. P. Quinn

NY 100-80641

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1 - NY 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)  
④ - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (422)  
1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
1 - NY 100-52959 (CHARLES LOMAN) (422)  
1 - NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER) (415)  
1 - NY 100- [ ] (FNU MC ADCO, W, M, 18, Youth representative,  
originally from Michigan, now from NYC, per  
[ ] (425)  
1 - NY 100- (FNU MUER or MYR (phonetic), W, M, 18, Youth  
representative, per [ ] (412)  
1 - NY 100- (FNU LNU, W, M, 18, crew cut, Youth  
representative, per [ ] (412)

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April 29, 1959

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

On 4/25,26/59, a meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA, was held at Adelphi Hall, NYC. Those present were:

Mickey Lima	Joe Roberts
Al Richmond	Tom Nabried
Pettis Perry	Si Gerson
Dorothy Healey	Pat Toohey
Ben Dobbs	Homer Chase
John Hellman	Sid Taylor
Alan Shaw	Ben Davis
Clarence Sharp	Hy Lumer
Flo Hall	Jack Stachel
Sam Kushner	Gene Dennis
Jim Turner	Robert Thompson (4/26/59 only)
Claude Lightfoot	Charles Loman
Carl Winter	Mildred MacAdory
Jim West	Charlene Mitchell
Molly West	William Weinstone
Anton Krchmarek	Jesus Colon
Steven Nelson (4/26/59 only)	Louis Weinstock
Bert Nelson	Irving Potash

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Gus Hall

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Milton Rosen

James Jackson

Manny Blum

George Meyers

Abner Green

Lottie Gordon (4/25/59 only)

Lou Moroze (4/25/59 only)

Joe Brandt

William Patterson

Herbert Aptheker

Art Shields (4/25/59 only)

Phil Bart ✓

Mike Davidow

William Albertson

George Morris

Morris Childs

Charles Dirba

Constantine Radzi

Eric Burt

Lem Harris

Jack Shulman

Ruth Shulman

Evelyn Wiener

Mac Adoo, W, M, 18, Youth  
representative,  
originally from  
Michigan, now from NYC

Muer or Myr, W, M, 18, Youth  
representative

White, male, 18, crew cut,  
Youth representative

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A series of meetings of the National Leadership of the Communist Party was held between April 24th - 27th, inclusive in New York City. On Friday afternoon, April 24th, the National Executive Committee met for about four hours. The purpose of this meeting was to prepare a number of pending proposals for presentation to the whole National Committee scheduled to meet the ensuing two following days. On the evening of April 24th, a four hour session was held consisting mainly of National Committee members and dealing with trade union and labor questions particularly the interests of the Party with respect to the present negotiations and possible forthcoming strike in the steel industry. On Saturday, April 25th, the full National Committee met from 10 a.m. until 8 p.m. The National Committee also met on Sunday, April 26th from 10 a.m. until about 8 pm. On April 27th, a number of conferences and committees had extended sessions in the offices of the Party. At 11 a.m. and lasting until 3 p.m., there was a conference on Civil Liberties and questions concerning Party security. From 3 p.m. until 6 p.m., another body of NC members had a meeting of the Program Committee. This report hopes to be a general review of the discussions and decisions of this group of meetings. One subject may run into another and one subject may start at one meeting and find completion at another. On

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the basis of the four days discussions and various gatherings, it is possible to say that the internal situation within the Party and its leadership reflects a substantial and important change. It is possible to state that the former internal struggle revolving between the right wing revisionist group and the pro-Moscow contingent within the Party is substantially over and henceforth a new condition and alignment of forces is quite possible. It was obvious in these meetings that the former right wing and the proponents of an extreme ultra-left course have been completely defeated organizationally in the Party. It is possible to say that the present National set-up has consolidated its political and organizational position, sits tall in the saddle of authority and command, and takes comfort in the knowledge that it is recognized and supported by the international Communist movement, and particularly finds favor in the eyes of the Russian Party.

It was possible to observe that the remnants of the right wing opposition such as HEALY, RICHMOND, KUSHNER, DOBES, GERSON and others came into this meeting without a separate or independent view for a program of any kind, and throughout the meeting in one form or another, gave indication that they are prepared to accommodate themselves to the present

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situation. It appears as if they have decided to remain in the Party, not to follow their former supporters, and to convince themselves that there are influences and atmospheres now obtaining within the Party, which it makes it possible for them to cooperate and conduct their views on a different basis than that of an outright hostile opposition. Therefore, my conclusion is that the national leadership has achieved a political scuttling of the main forces around the opposition, has substantially consolidated its position and authority, and that from here on out the whole formation, points of argument and program, will be abandoned and a different type of alignment and relationship may be expected to eventuate.

The foregoing will explain, therefore, why the four day sessions were relatively peaceful and externally constructive and devoid of former political wrangles, excepting, of course, here and there, a small reflection which had no particular political significance. It is possible to say that henceforth the national leadership and Party as a whole will find itself in a more positive condition to be able to carry out its aims and plans. Unlike in the past where there existed extensive internal turmoil and disruption, the outlook is now for a

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more consolidated reunified cadre and ability to undertake and execute decisions and resolutions taken by the Party. One can also say that from here on out there will be an obvious tightening up and better conditions for starting and carrying forward the many plans of work which up till now have foundered on rocks because of the disrupted internal situation and conflict over basic policy. All remaining personalities of the former opposition played no hostile or uncooperative role in these many meetings, but gave all indications that they are ready to collaborate and will collaborate unless the national leadership adopts a vindictive rubbing of the face in dirt attitude which will defeat their own purpose. That the present strength of the Party is extremely weak and that many scars remain as a result of the internal struggle but also obviously realize that this condition is about at an end and that they are now able to proceed on a more positive basis and with more favorable internal and organizational circumstance.

At one point in the meeting, of the National Committee, STACHEL stated that everyone knows the Party has "less than one third of the previous 18,000 members we said we had at the time of the last National Convention" and argued that

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we can quickly retrieve a lot of our previous strength and position because of the very favorable situation we face now within the Party.

Apparently the leadership decided to make this National Committee gathering something of a mobilizing instrument. Hitherto meetings of the National Committee have been fairly restricted and an invitation to a non-member to attend was considered quite important recognition on the part of the person's status. As the list of persons attending will show, a large number of additional persons were invited into this meeting, some to actually participate. The names will show that the type of these invited persons are mainly the old hard-boiled and devoted core around the Party. It is also a definite measure to enlarge the base of support of the present National leadership which apparently felt that the criticisms constantly leveled against it of creating a small elite type of leadership had some basis to it. Also, it may be judged that the list of invited people are types of those persons whom the leadership has in mind to bring into the leadership or more responsible parts of it in the immediate future.

The meeting of the National Committee on April 25th and 26th was arranged mechanically and in an organizational way

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with the lack of preparation and carefullness that would result in a lot of work being done. Like many previous meetings, the agenda and organizational schedule of the meeting was so sloppily planned that again it created considerable anger and criticism from many of the people attending. If this report will indicate the lack of definite action and specific decision, it merely reflects the unplanned and disorganized arrangements for the meeting itself. DENNIS opened the meeting of the National Committee, stated that the NEC had had a meeting the day before and a meeting five or six weeks earlier and wished to present to the full National Committee a suggested agenda for consideration. He proposed that the first full day of the meeting be devoted to hearing a report by JAMES JACKSON and supplementary remarks by GEORGE MORRIS and MORRIS CHILDS, on the resolutions and decisions of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In his weary and unclear way of speaking, he indicated that around these reports the meeting would have the broad opportunity of reviewing and discussing the world political situation, the war danger, the role of the Socialist nations, the exploding situation in the colonial countries and a number of new theoretical propositions emanating from the report of KHRUSHCHEV to the 21st Congress.

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Second, he proposed the meeting discuss what he called the approach of the NEC to the forthcoming National Party Convention.

Third, to consider the proposal of the NEC regarding the long delayed question of moving the Party National Headquarters to Chicago.

Fourth, to hear an informational report on the negotiations in the steel industry and the report of the trade union conference held the previous Friday evening under the chairmanship of IRVING POTASH.

He proposed that all these subjects be dealt with Saturday and a special evening session Saturday evening. For Sunday, he said the NEC proposed the full day be devoted to a report on the youth question on the results of the youth march for integration to Washington and the work of the Party in relation thereto. There was considerable question among various delegates as to the ambitiousness of this agenda and whether it should not be trimmed down and the meeting concentrate upon one or two really important matters which thereupon can relate to National Party policy. Eventually this agenda was adopted.

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Then DENNIS proceeded to recommend to the meeting on behalf of the NEC an unusual measure that the chairman of the first session of the meeting be BERT NELSON of Seattle. A question or two was raised as to why does the NEC feel its duty to deal in such minor matters as recommending the smallest detail as to who should be chairman of the full meeting and whether the full meeting itself could not resolve such a simple question. Behind these inquiries obviously was the feeling that the small NEC is abrogating to itself not only all major questions of policy but also the smallest organizational detail to the extent where the full National Committee becomes something of an unnecessary thing all together. This little incident is only indicative of the way DENNIS acts. He seems to at every opportunity pushing into whatever possible prominence he can BERT NELSON and one or two more like him. The entire method irritates a lot of people because they look upon it as an obvious method of DENNIS to create around himself a little core of absolute supporters. The incident left a bad taste which DENNIS himself recognized but no one wished to pursue the matter further and NELSON was selected as chairman under such distasteful circumstances. DENNIS did not pursue this in the

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following sessions where the election of chairman was left to the body as a whole.

DENNIS also proposed that at the outset the National Committee send greetings to FOSTER and special greetings to GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON in prison. No objection was made to these proposals.

The report submitted by JACKSON by MORRIS and by CHILDS which took up practically all of the day was the greatest disappointment to the full meeting. JACKSON spoke from 11 a.m. until 2 p.m. CHILDS spoke about 45 minutes. The near four hours of this subject presented by the two speakers became a tremendous disappointment from what had been expected would be the report and the subject. Instead of a policy report and establishing the basis for a considerable political discussion of Party theoretical problems and a review of the problems in the present world situation, these reports became nothing more or less than a lecture on the Soviet Union and a repetition practically word for word of the KHRUSHCHEV report in how the Soviet Union is undertaking its seven year plan. It dealt with subjects of housing and factory construction, figures on agriculture and was the type of speech of an educational

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character which Party speakers could make on any street corner or in the form of a lecture to any group or put down on paper in the form of agitational articles for any Party newspaper. The promised subjects of this report did not materialize. Before GEORGE MORRIS' turn to speak arrived, HEALY rose to ask a question, why did the NEC think it necessary to convene the whole National Committee for a full day just to hear an inspirational report on the Soviet Union which could be read in any newspaper or Party magazine. Other members raised questions whether the time of the meeting was not entirely misplaced and whether the agenda was going to result in any substantial good. After considerable wrangling, it was decided not to embarrass MORRIS but let him proceed with his report. He opened his remarks by saying he felt like he was "on the spot" but that it was not his fault. He proceeded to speak along the same lines as JACKSON and CHILDS. CHILDS, incidentally did not say anything, but made a type of speech of a vague and wandering sort which had people in the room looking at each other in amazement. Some corridor queries were heard also as to how CHILDS happened to get to the 21st Congress, who sent him, and what particular qualifications did he have in order to be so

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designated. Suffice to say from 11 o'clock until approximately 5 with lunch in between, the meeting was totally wasted with these three speeches which missed the mark of their announced purpose, which were of an educational and propangandist nature and are of a kind which will appear in the form of articles in the Party press. On their conclusion, the general attitude was, what is there to discuss? Snide notes were being passed between people in the meeting asking each other, "are you in favor of the superiority of socialism over capitalism?" Speakers had no handle to take the floor unless they got up and also gave hurrah for the Soviet Union type of speeches which was not what was called for. The result was there was no discussion as a policy discussion is understood. Instead, the meeting went into a wrangle of what to do with the so-called reports, since first, the contents of the reports were amiss from the announced intention and, secondly, because they had utilized the whole day so that now no time remained for a discussion even if one was desired.

It was decided at this point to forego the subject and to proceed with other matters. At this point, the agenda earlier decided upon was changed, as it usually is. It was

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changed to provide an evening session which would commence to go into some of the other subjects in view of the feeling that the next day would allow insufficient time to take care of them all.

At this point, THOMPSON came into the meeting for the first time. It had been announced he would be unable to participate in the National Committee meeting due to undergoing medical examination the first day to determine if surgery on his head was required and also, because he is expecting to surrender about Wednesday of the coming week in view of his appeal to the United States Supreme Court being rejected. Uncertain if THOMPSON could be at the session on the following day, the agenda was rearranged to hear him at this point, late on Saturday afternoon. THOMPSON addressed the session for perhaps twenty minutes. One could gather from his remarks that it was in the form of a swan song. The tenor of his remarks was along the line of how he saw the problems of the Party at the present time and what major lines of activity and policy it should pursue. He briefly reviewed the period of the past year, that is since February, 1958, when the National Committee adopted its resolution which

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scuttled the right wing. He drew a picture of slow, steady but persistent consolidation occurring in the Party while arriving at a clarification of basic policy and the road which the Party should follow. He saw that the conditions of the Party today are considerably improved though it is very weak, over the period of the recent past. He drew an estimate that the political climate of the Party is vastly improved, inferring here that the antagonistic groups and ideologies had been effectively dispursed although remnants of their influence and views continued to remain. He thought that in the past months, the Party had achieved a certain organizational stability despite the presence of many difficult conditions, such as the internal wreckage, lack of funds, dispersal of cadres and the continuation of a certain harrassment by the government and enemies of the Party. He went on to give his opinions as to the main tasks the Party now faces. He summarized these as being, the speedy conclusion of clearing up the internal impediments, the arriving at full ideological and political unity in terms of policy, the necessity of consolidating and unifying the leadership on a national, state and local basis, and applying the attention of the party full scale to

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the present and forthcoming struggles of labor among the youth in the Civil Rights struggle and among the Negro people and other such campaigns. He foresaw that between now and the forthcoming National Party Convention in October, that we were faced with exceptional opportunity for Party consolidation, recruiting and generally strengthening our organizational set-up. He thanked the people for their help and contribution, stated he was uncertain and a little dubious as to his own further participation due to his personal illness and legal difficulties, and concluded with an expression of confidence that the Party is now well on its way to more substantial achievements than any time in the past. Of course, his remarks called for responding comments which were rendered by STACHEL, LIGHTFOOT and several others. The atmosphere and tone was that of a good-bye, although it was not expressly stated. If this is so, no indication was rendered at the meeting as to his replacement as National Organizational Secretary. Many people thought that with GUS HALL now appearing for open activity that GUS would be the logical choice. However, later in the meeting, HALL was given

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a different assignment which will take him to Chicago. In the meantime, PHIL BART, who has been absent from all activities since the National Convention in February, 1957, has been drawn back in and is now assigned to work in the National Headquarters. Apparently, he will be an assistant or aide on the organizational work, under whom has not yet been determined or discussed, at least semi-publicly.

The evening session of the National Committee on Saturday, April 25th, dealt with two questions. The subject was the NEC proposals for preparing for the convention and on moving to Chicago. On the convention, the proposals which have been hitherto reported, were presented to the meeting for discussion and adoption. Briefly, they authorize the NEC to create a series of subcommittees which will commence work now and present material on the subjects they are to deal with to the July meeting of the National Committee. These subcommittees are to be (one) preparing a report of the NEC to the National Convention to embrace a report of stewardship since the past convention and which will include a review of all policy questions from the time of that convention until present. (Second), a subcommittee to commence preparation of the main political resolution to be presented for discussion

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in the Party and to the convention. The subcommittees on the constitution, trade union work, personnel, appeals, youth and number of other subjects. The idea is for these committees to assemble, prepare and screen materials relating to their subjects for presentation to the July National Committee meeting which will then constitute provisional convention committees, hand this material to such committees and in the case of the first two documents to advance it before the entire Party for a sixty to ninety day discussion. These proposals were adopted without much discussion. The NEC did not announce if it had established these subcommittees already or whether it would do so later. In any case, the subcommittees will be working on their designated subject and the next we will hear of them will be in July.

The second subject dealt with at the evening session was that of moving to Chicago. STACHEL presented the subject on behalf of the NEC. The subject had been discussed the day before in the NEC as well as five or six weeks earlier when the NEC decided by a close majority vote to recommend to the National Committee meeting that the headquarters remain in New York. This subject received very little response from

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the meeting. It was quite clear that even if one still favored observing the decision of the convention to do so that after two and one half years the conditions created are such that it is almost impossible to do so. STACHEL mobilized all the argumentation against the idea of moving which is already known. He stated that he, himself, was always in favor of the move but that he like many others had come to the realization for the reasons already known and expressed in a document submitted sometime ago that the present difficulties are almost insuperable. He said he or none others quarrelled with the assumptions which motivated the convention adopting a unanimous decision to move, that he agreed Chicago as a locale was more preferable than New York, and he did not dispute the wisdom of the convention decision, but that on account of financial difficulties, and on account of legal restrictions which confined many members to court jurisdictions in the east, and due to the present general weakness of the Party, that it is now practically impossible to conform to the convention decision. He argued that the Party today has about 6,000 members and that probably 75 per cent of this figure is located at distant poles in the country. Half in New York and half in California, with a sparse scattering in

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between. He argued that to now place the Party in Chicago- while politically correct would isolate it away from the base of any part of its real membership. In other words, he gave lip service to the wisdom of the convention action, but in reality, heavily argued against the reasoning altogether. No one felt like arguing the point any further because the FOSTER-DAVIS elements who had consistently blockaded this subject for over two years won their point by a policy of simple blockading . When the vote was taken on STACHEL's report for the NEC and only several speakers like LIGHTFOOT, KUSHNER discussed it, the vote was unanimous to accept the report except for KUSHNER and HALL who voted against, and five or six abstentions which were comprised of the former right wing group as HEALY, LIMA, RICHMOND and NELSON. Consequently, the Party will stay in New York and the National Convention in October will hear an alibi report as to why its previous decision was not executed and why it is impossible to do so even now.

Something of a little flurry occurred Saturday evening as the National Committee meeting was about to adjourn. MOLLY WEST of Chicago rose and on a question of personal information desired to know if the National Committee

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was going in any way to hear a report/deal with or discuss the recent question and case surrounding CHARLES LOMAN. This created something of a flurry among DENNIS, DAVIS and the others obviously had no intention of having the matter brought before the meeting. It was indicated that agenda was full but that if there was time the next day the NEC would have a meeting and decide to put it on the agenda, but the NEC had no such intention. STACHEL was heard to say to another member that the comrades do not want the subject on the floor at all, for if it arises the whole story will have to be told, such as LOMAN's trip to the Soviet Union, the fact that "they" sent him back, the fact that if it rose in such a large public meeting, that LOMAN surely would result in being expelled. He was heard to say that LOMAN has not "mended his ways," and that the relationships with LOMAN still remain pretty delicate, but that if the issue comes before the full meeting it will have to be decisively handled once and for all. When MOLLY WEST raised the matter, LOMAN took the floor and demanded to know if the case would be brought before the full meeting and if so he desired to be heard at length. It was at this point that DENNIS or STACHEL evaded the issue by promising

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a ruling by the NEC to place it for discussion if time allowed. Of course, that was the last heard of it. It did not arise the following day, nor was there further reference to it. Some comment was heard that a private meeting had been held of LOMAN with several of the National Office staff who told him frankly that if he pressed the issue to have the case brought before the meeting that he would wind up immediately expelled. Perhaps this is the reason why he too kept quiet the following day. Thus, nothing further was heard of the LOMAN matter.

On Sunday, April 26th, the National Committee reconvened. Not as many of the invited visitors were present at this session as the day before. In accordance with the agenda, the meeting was now to consider two reports on the youth question. One by [REDACTED] who was to read a statement to be later issued by the Party, which estimated and analyzed the recent youth march for integration to Washington. Second, the presentation of a report by HY LUMER which was a repetition of the report earlier considered by the NEC and a copy of which is attached hereto. [REDACTED] was not present at the meeting, nor was he present the day before. LUMER doubled in presenting the

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[ ] report and his own. No quotation is given from the statement presented by [ ] as it is a public document and, therefore, available. LUMER proceeded to give his report which lasted over an hour. Its content did not materially depart or differ from the outline which is hereto attached. Only now and then in an extemporaneous way did he depart from this basic text. The text of this report will also be polished up and made available in a few days. For that reason, no extensive quotations of this report are made. Also because it did not differ much from the previous report made to the NEC. . . . .

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Discussion commenced upon these two reports. These two reports in a certain sense dealt with conflicting subjects. As a result the ensuing discussion was of a conflicting nature. If one wished to discuss the emerging youth movement and Communist Party policy thereto he would address himself to the LUMER report. If he wished to discuss the experiences of the Party in relation to the March for Integration he had to discuss the other report. The thing tended to become something of a mish-mash. Eventually, however, the main emphasis of the discussion veered toward the matters raised in

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the LUMER report. Included among the speakers in the discussion on this report were BEN DAVIS, CHARLENE ALEXANDER, HEALEY, ALBERTSON, STACHEL, DOBBS, WEINSTOCK, PERRY, HELLMAN, LIGHTFOOT, NABRIED, GERSON and the three young people invited to the meeting MACADDO formerly of Michigan, now located in New York, MUER or MYR and the third one unidentified. No controversy was exhibited around these two reports. It took on the aspect of a so-called constructive proposition. The three youth speakers were apparently representative of the groupings active in the youth field to which reference is made in LUMER report as reflecting differences among these youth groups. MACADDO and MUER spoke and the tenor of their remarks allowed one to believe they were representatives of the youth groupings characterized by the LUMER report as influenced by ultra-leftism, sectarianism, smearing of the Party and Party leadership. If so, it would appear these groups have had considerable pressure among them or attention paid to them because the tenor of their remarks were that they had erred, had made mistakes but did so indeliberately and any mistakes on their part were because of being left alone, unguided and without help from the Party; -that their total interest was in striving to help bring into being

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a Marxist-Leninist youth organization as soon as possible. These youth speakers, however, continued to express skepticism and open doubt as to the proposals of the LUMER report. They considered these proposals ambiguous, in need of a great clarification and stated that frankly, they did not understand what many of them meant. The burden of most of the discussion around this point was as to what type of broad youth organization should the Communist Party support and help bring into being. All speakers, including, of course, the so-called left, supported the conclusions of the LUMER report.

At the end of this discussion the propositions appearing on page seven of the LUMER report were unanimously adopted, but in the middle of this discussion of the LUMER and [ ] reports the <sup>discussion</sup> was suspended and deferred for nearly an hour. DENNIS rose to make a few remarks to the meeting welcoming back to full participation in the work the long absent GUS HALL. DENNIS tried to make something of an inspirational talk which for him is quite an exertion, and tried to generate a spirit and feeling of enthusiasm before presenting HALL for some remarks. It should be noted that HALL is one of the most personally popular persons in the

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top leadership, and has a wide following and respect. Many people have been awaiting his return in the hope that he would provide some fill-in for the present vacuum in the national leadership. Many were interested in the views he would express. He was alleged to have had until recent the attitude of middle-of-the-roadism, an attitude critical of the DENNIS-DAVIS leadership, but hostile to that of the right wing. It may be that he still reflects this view. DENNIS introduced him for a little speech. HALL spoke nearly a half hour and from his remarks it could be gathered that he is completely for the Party, hostile to the right wing, critical of many of the mistakes made by the Party, but confident that a united leadership can evolve and lead the Party to a rehabilitation. In his remarks he vaguely developed a line of reasoning that bitterness should be eradicated, that an atmosphere should be worked for which would result in welding together comrades who are now antagonistic to each other and divided. These remarks were construed as appealing to the elements of the former right wing to join up, forget their past and work together on a new basis. It may be said that these remarks had such a precise effect and were so responded to by HEALEY, RICHMOND and others. Whether they

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look upon HALL as the possible magnet to surround as a counter-weight to that of DENNIS and DAVIS may be in their minds. HALL's speech was very enthusiastically received and thenceforth considerable references were made to it in other speeches and privately. He created the picture of the appearance of a firm, strong and effective person who stands above much of the nastiness and unnecessary bitterness of recent, and possibly can be the person to help weld a better situation inside the Party. Whether this will materialize remains to be seen but obviously such was the impression created in the minds of quite a few people at the meeting and it may also explain why HALL will not be assigned to work in the central headquarters, but in Chicago or in the mid-West away from the National Office.

When HALL finished, DENNIS rose to present a proposal from the NEC. It was that HALL be elected as a secretary of the National Committee to be assigned in charge of one of the important departments of the National Committee unannounced, that HALL be assigned in charge of the mid-West Bureau of the National Committee and function by giving leadership to the group of mid-west states, but also being closely in touch with and working with the set-up

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in New York. This was unanimously adopted.

The last thing before the meeting was the report of IRVING POTASH on the trade union conference held the previous Friday evening. This report was to be considered an informational report, not to be discussed but as a general line of thinking on the part of the leadership on this question. On the Friday evening of 24th, a conference was held in the National Office and preceded the meeting of the National Committee. This conference was intended as a national trade union gathering to discuss and formulate some policy in this field. The agenda of this meeting was the present state of negotiations in the steel industry and the Party's tasks in light of a possible national steel strike. Second, the national unemployment situation and the follow up of the recent unemployment march in Washington. The third subject was to be a review of the decisions of the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting held recently in Puerto Rico, and to determine Party attitude and tasks flowing from that situation. The second and third subjects were not gotten to due to the time spent on the first subject and the lateness of the hour.

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Attending this <sup>T.U.</sup> meeting were nearly all members of the NEC plus a number of National Committee members who are not on the NEC and several invited people like MIKE DAVIDOW, JOE BRANDT, ESTHER CANTOR, ALBERTSON and one or two more. About thirty people attended this session. It opened with an extensive general review of the situation in the steel industry and the status of the steel negotiations. The conflicting demands of management and the proposals of the steel union, a supposed review of the feeling among steel workers in the shops and various steel centers. A discussion of the nature of the demands being presented by the union and the demands desired by the membership and similar topics. The burden of the report made by KRACHMARKE of Ohio was that there is every likelihood of a long strike occurring in the steel industry; that the strike will be greatly disadvantageous to the workers and the union; that the strike is being propelled by management; that management desires a three or two month strike because of its present high inventory of steel which it wishes to dispose of without being obliged at the same time to keep the mills running; that a long strike will only serve to deplete the employers' inventory

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but will also weaken and deplete and create hardship among the workers; that the steel union under MC DONALD is not taking the required preparations in face of the obvious strategy of the company; that the steel leadership has so far taken no actual preparations to prepare the steel workers for a long seige nor has it taken any effective measures to defeat the obvious objective of the steel corporations in weakening the union and creating several months hardships in order to dispose of their inventory. He said that a survey among steel workers in many centers and reports by Party members as to the thoughts and opinions of steel workers show that they are cold to the issues which MC DONALD and the union negotiating committee are presenting as major issues for settlement at this time. He said the workers are much less concerned with wage demands than the issues which MC DONALD is pressing, as they are with the question of job security and protective measures against the onrush of automation, that the greatest feeling among steel workers is not for a few cents more on the day's pay, but the assurance of whether they will have a job before long and effective measures to curtail the vicious speed-up. He said the union leadership appears to be oblivious to the actual

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needs and desires of the steel workers and that it is the task of the Party in the steel industry to the extent we can and in a way as will not antagonize workers that the Party is trying to supplant their union, to popularize and bring forward those kind of questions in order to create a better understanding of the dangers involved and what the workers must do first to protect their union and their conditions . Secondly, to impress their view upon the leadership so that this leadership will carry out what it should be doing. On the basis of his remarks, an early evening discussion took place in many ways very general and wandering as to how the Party could re-establish itself among steel workers; how it could influence the character of the present negotiations; how it could take steps to "unleash the militancy of the workers" in face of the probable on-coming strike which might hurt the union. The discussion in which almost everyone present participated demonstrated the outstanding weakness of the Party in the steel industry and an inability to put into effect what it might decide as necessary. This fact made the discussion throughout the evening quite unproductive and vague. Most everyone kept talking about what ought to be done, what has

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to be done but came up against the hard reality that except for a few connections in Ohio, several rank and file contacts in Gary, and two or three in the east, particularly around Buffalo, that the Party has no mechanism or ability to do much about what it thinks should be done. I mentioned this to explain the gap between the flood of oratory taken all evening and the scarcity of decisions taken at the end of the meeting.

The summarized conclusions of this meeting were that POTASH should make a general informational report to the National Committee. That he should indicate the Party should consider the situation in the steel industry as a major concentration talk and interest. That POTASH should convey to the meeting the analysis and estimate arrived at by the discussion of this trade union conference and call upon the Party to pay the closest attention in all districts to the on-coming steel struggle, the need of immediate re-establishing Party connection on a local basis and the application of various measures to have the workers present their opinions and grievances to the national leadership so that this leadership would be concerned with the actual wants of the steel workers, such as job security, speed-up,

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etcetera, and not of emphasizing unimportant questions at this time. It was emphasized that the Party in all districts make an immediate and urgent effort to draw together, reach all former contacts, in an effort to have these persons and groups united to reflect the Party view and carry it among steel workers. It was said by POTASH that the recently issued national leaflet by the Party on the steel situation received a generally favorable response wherever it had been distributed and that we should now issue another folder on a national scale. He also proposed that the Party National Committee prepare to issue a statement for national distribution on the basis of the present situation in the steel industry, call attention to the forthcoming strike and the need of the entire labor and progressive movement to rally in concrete support of this strike, something, he said, which is not being done at this time. These were about all the proposals that emanated from the five hour discussion. These were the proposals which POTASH incorporated in his informational report to the National Committee. The informational report reviewed matters pretty much as has been reported here. There was no discussion on the POTASH report and his proposals were

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accepted by the meeting.

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This completed the work of the National Committee meeting, vague and general as it had been and after a few announcements had been made the meeting adjourned. There was considerable feeling expressed in corridors and over coffee cups that, productively and qualitatively, the meeting had failed considerably to achieve anything outstanding. It was looked upon by quite a number of members as a routine and mechanical meeting devoid of real content and hardly inspiring. There was considerable criticism over the way the meeting had been planned to advance a lot of minor and nonessential matters and to neglect the urgent consideration of a number of important issues which bedeviled the Party. Among the neglected issues which were on the mind of many people, was the question of the forthcoming convention and what it hopes to achieve. Secondly, the obvious reappearance of legal and governmental pressures against the Party. Third, the Berlin crisis and the tightening international situation. These were some of the subjects mentioned by a number of people to each other which received no consideration. To amend somewhat, the wash-out of the National Committee meeting and its failure to approach and tackle some of these questions

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the members were abjured to stay around for the following day in order to participate in a number of conferences which would deal with some of the specific questions.

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On 4/24/59, a meeting of the Trade Union Committee of the CP, USA, was held at CP, USA, headquarters, NYC. Those present were:

Mickey Lima	Gene Dennis
Dorothy Healey	Jack Stachel
Ben Dobbs	Louis Weinstock
John Hellman	Irving Potash
Alan Shaw	Gus Hall
Clarence Sharp	Milt Rosen
Sam Kushner	Manny Blum
Claude Lightfoot	George Meyers
Carl Winter	Phil Bart
Jim West	Mike Davidow
Anton Krehmarek	William Albertson
Bert Nelson	George Morris
Tom Nabried	Esther Cantor
Pat Toohey	Arnold Johnson
Homer Chase	Joe Brandt
Hy Lumer	

The proceedings of this meeting are reported above in the informant's statement of the 4/25,26/59 CP,USA National Committee meeting for reasons of clarity.

Enclosed herewith are two copies of a report on youth by HY LUMER, which report is referred to in the above statement of the informant. One copy is enclosed for CP,USA - Organization and one for CP,USA - Youth Matters.

FBI

Date: 5/13/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL RM  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

CINAL

On 5/12/59, NY 2359-S\* advised that on this date a meeting of resident NEC, CPUSA and invited guests

3- Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)  
1- Los Angeles (Info) (RM)  
1- San Francisco (Info) (RM)  
1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)  
1- New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (416)  
1- New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)  
1- New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)  
1- New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)  
1- New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)  
1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1- New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)  
1- New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
1- New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)  
1- New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)  
1- New York (100-80640) (CP, USA-NEGRO QUESTION) (415)  
1- New York (100-7629) (COMINFIL NAACP) (41)  
1- New York (100-82062) (JEWISH CURRENTS) (414)  
1- New York (100-20) (MORRIS U. SCHAPPES) (425)  
1- New York (100-87211) (CP, USA-FACTIONALISM) (415)  
1- New York (100-86624) (CP, USA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)  
1- New York (100-80641) (415)

HCO:gms  
(23)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

100-52579-3351

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAY 14 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Per *H. P. Quinn*

NY 100-80641

was held in the Third Floor Board Room, CP Headquarters, NYC. The meeting was chaired by GENE DENNIS. Among those in attendance were: BEN DAVIS, JIM JACKSON, HY LUMER, ARNOLD JOHNSON, BILL ALBERTSON, PHIL BART, IRVING POTASH, JACK STACKEL, BOB THOMPSON and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

The first speaker was JAMES JACKSON who gave a report on his recent trip to the West Coast. Apparently referring to his visit to Los Angeles, JACKSON said that the largest mass meeting in a long time had been held at which he spoke on the significance of the 21st Congress. Referring to San Francisco, JACKSON said that the meeting there was much smaller and there was dissatisfaction with the attendance. He stated that at the meeting questions concerning the Jewish, German and Yugoslav questions were raised.

BEN DAVIS stated the Party should try to develop a struggle against many of the obvious weaknesses of the NAACP, and its policies. He said that in spite of the Supreme Court decisions the right to vote situation has not changed in the South and the courts in the South are being used as instruments of the ruling class in an effort to undermine the Negro movement and intimidate the Negro people. He stated that the Party must be conscious of the tremendous mood of anger, disgust and hopelessness, and to take a position on this to drive home more and more the necessity of a much greater struggle on the part of the labor movement and the Negro people and try to develop a concrete method whereby the Federal Government can come into these cases in the South.

DAVIS stated this is not Africa where the Negro people are in the majority and that there are not jungles and woods and physical means where the Negro people could put up military resistance or a policy of military struggle in the South. He said the Party should take a position on the action taken by the NAACP.



NY 100-80641

PHIL BART in discussing the Party's constitution stated the party must have a constitution which will once again unequivocally establish the unity of the Party. BART suggested that a small working committee rather than a large committee work out proposals for changes in the constitution.

BILL ALBERTSON urged the setting up of a constitution sub-committee. He stated this presented a good opportunity for conducting a campaign within and without the Party explaining what the CP is.

JACK STACHEL agreed with the approach set out by BART and suggested they try to avoid a referendum if possible.

BEN DAVIS said that one thing the constitution should do is re-establish the principal of Democratic Centralism in order to:

- 1) Save the Party.
- 2) Defend and maintain the size of the Party.

HY LUMER presented an outline of the proposed NEC report. He said it should be a very clear political report which would indicate the measure of the Party crisis, plus the direction in which the Party is going. First would be an introduction, a panoramic view of the world and national developments; next a section dealing with a period of struggle, including such activities as peace, trade union work and so forth. The next section would establish the direct participation of the Party as such and the Party organization; specific aspects of work of each department of the Party and finally a summary which would point out what's ahead for the Party.

ELIZABETH FLYNN stated she didn't think we should take responsibility for the whole period since the convention, but only for the NEC now. Also it should be made clear the reason for no action earlier.

NY 100-80641

ROBERT THOMPSON said the membership needs an explanation as to what has transpired. He said the first problem is how to characterize this early leadership. We must be constructive and not undermine the leadership.

The next question discussed was Jewish Currents. EUGENE DENNIS stated that there was to be a meeting tomorrow, 5/13/59, re Jewish Currents. DENNIS further stated that he would like to know how the comrades could recommend that (MORRIS U.) SCHAPPES should remain on the (Editorial) board.

ROBERT THOMPSON stated that the general policy of just patiently working to isolate SCHAPPES and what he represents is correct.

JACK STACHEL stated that we can have an organized commission of nine people or so in NY to give guidance and that this commission would be the National Commission. STACHEL pointed out that the problem involved would be the finding of forces to do the work. No proposals or decisions were made re Jewish Currents in view of meeting scheduled for 5/13/59.

ROBERT THOMPSON then stated that BEN DAVIS had a kidney ailment and that all the comrades should make it a point of letting DAVIS know that they were concerned about his health and personal welfare. (DAVIS was not present at this time).

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-2644\*)

DATE: April 22, 1959

FROM :  Correlation Clerkb6  
b7CSUBJECT: PHILIP BART, wa  
Philip Beral, Philip Strauss,  
"Jim Bart"  
SM-C

This memorandum contains all identical and questionable security references pertaining to the subject. There were no criminal references.

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATIONReliable Foreign Source100-26936-5 p 26

A reliable foreign source furnished the following information concerning the Lenin School. (Date-stamped in this office on July 11, 1953.)

Section 3: Individuals reported to have attended Lenin School

PHILIP BART, was Philip Beral, Philip Strauss -Bufile - 100-3284\* - New York File 100-56579\*.

PHILIP BART was born in Warsaw, Poland on June 28, 1902, son of BENJAMIN and IDA BERLE. He immigrated to the United States in August, 1941, and from 1914 to 1929 lived in New York. His wife is CONSTANCE (CONNIE) STRAUSS BART, age 49. He was Business Manager of the "Daily Worker" and former top functionary in Philadelphia. BART has been missing since August, 1951. In 1929-29 he was in Detroit, as District Organizer for Young Workers Communist League, later in charge of Southeastern District of CP in 1931 where he held the position of District Organizer. In the late 1930's and again in 1941 BART was District Organizer and State Secretary of the Communist Party of Indiana. Subsequently became District Organizer of CP in Philadelphia and toward the end of 1949 transferred to New York as Business Manager of the "Daily Worker" MAURICE MALKIN and WILLIAM ODELL NOWELL state that BART attended Lenin School, the period unknown. Sentenced to

*Rec'd by  
R.S. per  
H.P. Quinn.*

vz

*H.P.  
Quinn*

*100-56579-3352*

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 11 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>Quinn H.P.</i>	

FBI - CHICAGO	
MAY 6	1959

100-2644\*

100-26936-5 p 26 cont'd.

three months in prison and \$500 fine for contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities according to "Daily Worker" of 6-4-51. Photograph available.

## II CONNECTIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY

### ZSubject

100-15867-23 p 3

Re Report made at Houston February 3, 1954 by SA KENNETH B. JACKSON, title, [REDACTED] - SM-C.

### I Fort Wayne, Indiana - Communist Party Activities and Membership

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b7D

Subject advised his activities in connection with the Communist Party in Fort Wayne, Indiana, were during the period 1938 to 1940. He advised in that period six or seven members of the Communist Party represented a good-sized meeting. He said it was a very small group and no records were kept. He said no positions were actually held until an outside organizer came to Fort Wayne. This organizer's name, according to subject, was HENRY AARON, with alias HENRY MANN, who was a graduate of City College in New York City.

According to the subject, there apparently was more activity on the part of the Communist Party in the South Bend area than in the Fort Wayne area. He stated the whole state of Indiana was in one District of the Communist Party at that time with Indianapolis as the headquarters in Indiana, but he did not know the exact title BART carried at that time. He stated BART on occasions came to Fort Wayne for meetings with AARON. He stated no mass membership meetings or rallies were held in Fort Wayne during those years; thus there was no apparent need for BART to appear at Communist Party gatherings. Subject stated that BART was definitely connected with the Communist Party but he could not positively state he was a member.

### Unknown Source

[REDACTED]

Re letter from Director dated October 21, 1941 re, "CP, USA - Voorhis Act."

The Bureau has received information confidentially to the

CG 100-2644\*

[redacted] cont'd.

effect that the persons named in this letter attended the Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party May 30- June 2, 1940 as official delegates.

One such official delegate was:

PHILIP BART

He is Secretary of the Communist Party for the State of Indiana.

[redacted]

100-125-2704-p 5, 33, 40,  
p 44, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73, 76, 77

b7D

Re Report made at Chicago, November 23, 1942 by SA JOHN C. BILLS, title, "Communist Party, USA, District No. 8, Chicago Field Division - IS-C.

p 3) On June 6, 1942, Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity has been previously furnished to the Bureau, reported that on June 5, 1942, Confidential Informant [redacted] had attended a meeting of the South Side Section of the Communist Party (Packinghouse Workers, Steel workers, and Railroad Workers affiliated with their group.) At this meeting it was decided that an all-out effort in the defense of HARRY BRIDGES should be made and that all workers should be called upon to donate one day's pay if necessary.

[redacted]

100-125-2704 p 5

On June 8, 1942, Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity had been previously furnished to the Bureau, reported that at a midwest District conference of the Communist party which was held at Forrester's Hall, 1016 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, on Saturday, June 6, all those in attendance had to show their credentials or give their names and branch or section which they represented in order to enter. About a hundred and fifty persons were present, fifty of them being negroes. The meeting was opened by ALFRED WAGENKNECHT, State Chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois. ROMANIA FERGUSON, Communist Negro leader from the South Side of Chicago was elected chairman of the meeting. PHIL BART, Organizational Secretary of the Communist Party in District No. 8 spoke, emphasizing the success of the Russian Army against

CG 100-2644\*

100-125-2704-p 5 cont'd.

the Fascist hordes. He pointed out that the Communist must concentrate all efforts in the demand for a second front. He also pointed out that Chicago is known throughout the United States as an isolationist capital and said that the parade to be held on July 14 must be backed in order to show the country that Chicago, in fact, is behind the war effort. BART also called upon all members of the Communist Party to buy war bonds totalling ten percent of their weekly wages and also called upon them to donate blood to the Red Cross. He pointed out that President Roosevelt had freed EARL BROWDER for national unity and that the Communists must do all they could to show themselves to be a hundred per cent behind the war effort. Speaking on the 1942 Press and Election Fund campaign, BART said the district quota for District No. 8 is \$20,000 of which approximately \$15,000 must be raised in Chicago. Following BART were several speakers who explained the reasons why the Press and Election Fund Campaign was being stressed. Between \$5,000 and \$6,000, according to the speakers, was earmarked for the Sunday and Daily Worker. \$5,000 was earmarked to finance a vigorous Communist Party election campaign in this district to help their candidates in behalf of national unity and to defeat the appeaser candidates. \$3,000 was for organizational work, railroad fare, travel, and meeting expenses for literature, and schools. The speaker also said that the Communist Party in Chicago should not have trouble raising the \$15,000 inasmuch as there were 3,000 members in Chicago and this would only call upon each member to gather \$5,000 within three months. Delegates from the Industrial Section of the Communist Party in Chicago explained the method which they were using in soliciting contributions for the Party. First they approach the subject, asking him if he was anxious to see the war end in 1942 and pointing out that the only way the war could end in 1942 is through the opening of a second front and further emphasizing the fact that the Communist Party is the only party which advocates the immediate opening of a second front and then calling for a donation.

[redacted]

100-125-2704-p 33

On July 6, 1942, Confidential Informant [redacted] reported on the meeting of July 4th at Pilsen Park. PHIL BART was among those present at this meeting.

[redacted]

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100-125-2704 p 40

On July 13, 1942, Confidential Informant [redacted] reported on a meeting of the Illinois-Indiana District Committee of the Communist Party

CG 100-2644\*

100-125-2704- p 40 cont'd.

to be held July 12 at Forrester's Hall. There were 360 delegates present.


BOB WIRTZ reports that only after the Lithuanian Section of the Communist Party sent organizer F. ABECK in the field were they able to make progress. Now they are doing pretty well. A delegate from Peoria, Illinois, representing the caterpillar workers, reports progress. Announced speeches will discontinue at 5:00 P.M. to give time for PHIL BART to make his report. BART's report was similar to CHILDS quoting BROWDER, FOSTER, and other leaders. BART pointed out that the Daily Worker Drive in this District is losing ground. In fact, he said that they lost a hundred subscribers and members to do something. He said that on the financial drive the New York Section has raised over \$10000,000 while the Illinois-Indiana Section raised a little over \$3,000 so far. A resolution was adopted to end the drive on July 31. Party leadership has lost many valuable leaders that were called into the armed forces and the District Office has to have new leadership to fill gaps.

"District officers to be elected at the Party Convention. The Communist Party must sanction to propose resolutions to give authority to the District to fill gaps with selected delegates of the conference. The conference approved the motion. BART submitted to the conference five names and also stated that the conference might nominate the comrade for District Office, saying that the constitution calls eligible for election only those comrades active in the Party for the last two years or more. There were no nominations.



b7D

100-125-2704 p 44

On July 18, 1942, Confidential Informant  reported that on July 17 B. K. GEDBART from Michigan was in Chicago on that date. He held a conference with ALFRED WAGENKNECHT, MORRIS CHILDS, and PHIL BART. Informant reported that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; which has recently created a trade union division headed by MILDRED BLOCK, with offices at 203 North Wabash, Room 504, had collected about \$180 for trade union refugees to be brought into Mexico, from France and Spain.

[redacted]  
100-125-2704 p 66

On August 12, 1942, Confidential Informant [redacted] reported that at 64 West Randolph Street, the Workers School, and Modern Book Store, the Communist Party auditors were auditing the accounts and books of both places. SAM HAMMERSMARK now has an assistant, six feet one inch tall, who took the place of the girl who used to help them. Understand that SAM HAMMERSMARK is going to be transferred to some other more important department, and this man is going to learn the business. At a meeting held in Room 812, across the way from the Modern Book Store, FRANK CESTARE, administrator of the Young Communist League, and HERB SIGNER, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, LOUISE THOMPSON, PHIL BART, LOIS LORD, SYLVIA REGAL, KENNETH BORN, ROMAINE FERGUSON were all in a meeting and they were addressed by CESTARE who has launched their drive to get 1,500 members of the Young Communist League.

[redacted] b7D

100-125-2704 p 68

On August 3, 1942, CI [redacted] reported that orders had been received from the Communist Party through MORRIS CHILDS, ALBERT [redacted] and PHIL BART to immediately mobilize all Party contacts in the trade union groups to send resolutions to President Roosevelt, demanding that he intervene in the Free India movement. It was emphasized that the Free India movement is of utmost importance to the Communist Party. The members were advised to send protests by telephone and telegraph immediately regardless of cost.

[redacted]  
100-125-2704 p 69, p 71

On August 18, 1942, Confidential Informant [redacted] reported that PHIL BART, organizational secretary of the Communist Party, was at Party headquarters at 208 North Wells Street and was overheard telling ALFRED WAGENKNECHT "that the meeting they held on Monday night, August 17, at the Cafe Royale, 3854 West Roosevelt Road under the auspices of the Communist Party, was a great success and got quite a few sympathizers and three applications. Collection amounted to \$67.

p 71)

ALFRED WAGENKNECHT held a meeting at his home,



CG 100-2644\*

100-125-2704 p 71 cont'd.

4145 Broadway, at 8:00 P.M., August 18, 1942. Among those present were SAM HAMMERSMARK, PHIL BART, WILLIAM PATTERSON, and MORRIS CHILDS. This was supposed to be an important and confidential meeting.

p 73) On August 22, 1942, Confidential Informant [ ] reported that at Communist Party headquarters, 208 North Wells Street, "HERB SIGNER, JIM YOUNG, RAY GESTARA, DAVID CANTOR, LEO PRESSMAN, BOB FALLSTON, and JAMES TRUMAN met, the meeting being called by SIGNER and presided over by him.

At the home of PHIL BART, 1022 Dakin Street, there will be a meeting Saturday night of a group of functionaries. KENNETH BORN will be one of those present and most of the West Side leaders will also be there. At the Royal Cade, 3854 Roosevelt Road, the owner is a person who is sympathetic to the Communist cause; also believe that he is a member of the Party. This place is used for large gatherings in the West Side Section. b7D

p 76) On August 26, 1942, Confidential Informant [ ] reported that on August 25 at Communist Party headquarters, 208 North Wells Street, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, RUBEN FLORES, Mexican labor leader from 9017 Brandon Ave.

'PHIL BART in his organization's verbal report today at 3:00 P.M. at Forrester's Hall had for an audience all local leaders with the exception of MORRIS CHILDS and IRVING STEIN. He read a report that the present concern of the organizational group was to completely organize the Morton Manufacturing Company, the Pullman Standard Car Manufacturing Company, the Hurley Machine Company, the Link-Belt Company, the Eversharp, Inc., the Tuthill Pump Company, the Aurora Bronze and Aluminum Company, and the Press Steel Company, Hegwisk, Illinois.

p 77) On August 28, 1942, Confidential Informant [ ] reported that at Communist Party headquarters PHIL BART and SONIA CARTER were "checking the membership, which they had been working on for two days, and the total number of members in this district is 27,416. Out of this number 19,900 are workers, 8,000 are negroes, JOSEPH GERMANO of Chicago, District #31, CIO, was in conference with ALFRED WAGENKNECHT yesterday afternoon at 3:30 P.M. They are figuring on opening a Workers' School in Chicago as there is great demand for working school classes. He said he would take the matter up with WILLIAM L. PATTERSON and EIMER JOHNSON who are directors of the Workers' School in this district.

CG 100-2644\*



b7D

100-14605-117

Informant  furnished report made at Chicago April 5, 1944 re "Case of Mrs. EARL BROWDER."

The above captioned case involving deportation of Raissi Browder, wife of EARL, secretary, Communist Party, has recently been taken up in this area by a group of men and women high in the ranks of the Party.

Dr. SHAPIRO sponsored a conference several weeks ago in the SIMON WEXLER home, 3240 N. Lincoln Park West for the purpose of starting the campaign in question. However, the action taken at this meeting was turned down by the International Labor Defense and EARL BROWDER.

The program in question was to arrange a special meeting with EARL BROWDER and some 50 key men and women representing a cross section of professionals and trade unionists. These key members were to discuss; first-hand, the status of Mrs. BROWDER's case and just what action this local group should take in behalf of Mrs. BROWDER.

Therefore, plans for the meeting were formulated and put into effect with WESLEY SHARER taking over as temporary chairman and he secured the Crystal Room at the Hotel Sherman for the meeting with Mrs. BROWDER. Invitations were given out from person to person and by telephone to about 50 men and women.

For the most part the above information has already been covered, however, in order to properly set up the results that were outlined at this meeting today the previous conferences and plans are to show the relations that brought the group together today.

Listed is a partial list of men and women already known to the writer and the new contacts. MORRIS CHILDS, PHIL BART, MAX WEINSTEIN, ART HAENDLE, and CONNIE BART represented the district committee.

At 8:30 P.M. EARL BROWDER, escorted by PHIL BART, entered the room and was greeted by many of the veterans who knew him. Others were introduced and there was also any number of private conferences taking place about the room by the key members of the sponsoring committee.

CG 100-2644\*

100-14605-151

Informant [ ] furnished typewritten report made at Chicago, April 30, 1944 re "District Convention in Communist Party." b7D

The Illinois-Indiana District Convention of the Communist Party was held this date in the Adams Room, Midland Hotel, 172 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Delegates began arriving at 9:30 A.M. ART HAENDLE, District Secretary and a large group of clerical workers were to take the registration data for the convention.

At 10:15 A.M. our District chairman, ALFRED WAGENKNECHT, mounted the speakers' platform and rapped the gavel to call the convention to order. At this time the large room was fairly well filled with delegates of various nationalities, trade unions, and Party organizations.

On the order of business was the selection of a Sub-Committee to nominate delegates to the national convention. Chairman WAGENKNECHT headed this sub-committee comprising RAY HANSBOROUGH, OTTO WANGERIN, ROMANIA FERGUSON, and SAM KUSHNER. PHIL BART acted as Secretary of this Committee. Twenty-one delegates were selected for the approval of this convention.

At 1:15 the convention recessed one hour for lunch.

PHIL BART made a report on recruiting in this district. He stated that we have now exceeded our quota by 37 members. The quota was 2500 by May 1, 1944. We, therefore, have 2537. We have 20 days more to go before the national convention and our hope is to report 3000 by that time.

[ ]  
100-3293-1B 2 (90) p 4

[ ] on March 15, 1955 furnished SA'S J. B. CABREY and [ ] Souvenir Program booklet, of the Communist Political Association, for benefit Recital December 10, 1944, Metropolitan Community Church. b6 b7C

Under "Patrons" is listed the names of:

Mr. and Mrs. PHILLIP BART.

(Writer is unable to determine whether above is identical with the subject of this memorandum.)

CG 100-2644\*

SI

100-125-5859

b7D

CI  reported employment of persons by the Communist Party, 208 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.

(Photostatic copies prepared.)

(It is suggested that if information is used in reports, that it be carefully written up, in order not to disclose the identity of the informant.)

Listed:

Quarter Engin - March 31, 1945 for Communist Political Association, 208 North Wells Street.

253-22-9574	CONSTANCE BART	216.00
356-14-9954	PHILIP BART	480.00

100-125-5860

CI  reported employment of persons by the Communist Party, 208 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Listed:

b7D

Quarter Ending JUNE 30, 1945.

353-22-9574	CONSTANCE BART	- 234.00
356-14-9954	PHILIP BART	- 520.00

100-125-5861

CI  reported employment of persons by the Communist Party, 208 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Listed:

Quarter Ending March 31, 1945

SS # 353-22-9574	CONSTANCE BART	236.10	Ill.
SS # 356-14-9954	PHILIP BART	522.10	

CG 100-2644\*

A highly confidential source

100-125-5864 p 23

A highly confidential source on May 3, 1946 furnished list of names of persons who are members of the Communist Party in the Chicago area.

(Original was destroyed since it was torn apart - 9-29-50)

(Photographic copy furnished.)

New Recruits 10th Congressional, 42nd Ward, p 3.

PHILIP and CONSTANCE BART

100-125-6693

A highly confidential source on October 16, 1947 furnished SA JOSEPH P. MC MAHON, JEREMIAH J. HURLEY, and DON C. SWANSON photographic copies of tax returns filed by the Communist Party for the years 1945, 1946, and part of 1947. On these copies are listed the employees' names together with the amount of money paid them by the Communist Party and their Social Security numbers.

Listed are the names of:

CONSTANCE BART - 353-03-0506	216.00
PHILIP BART - 356-14-9954	480.00

100-125-6694

(Same source as above.)

Listed: June 30, 1945

CONSTANCE BART	353-22-9574	234.00
PHILIP BART	356-14-9954	520.00

100-125-6695

(Same source as listed above.)

(Same information as contained in 100-125-5861 listed above.)

CG 100-2644\*

[redacted]

100-7705-12

Re Memo to SAC, Chicago from SAC, Saint Louis May 18, 1945 re "Communist Political Association" - District No. 21, Saint Louis Field Division - IS-C.

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, furnished Special Agent HUGH M. ANDERSON of this office with the two letters which are set out in this memorandum. Both of these letters were written on the letterhead of the Communist Political Association, Illinois-Indiana District, No. 208 N.Wells Street, Chicago 6, Illinois.

Letter is dated April 9, 1945 and addressed to [redacted] [redacted] St. Louis. Letter is from PHIL BART and is as follows:

"I am enclosing a copy of a letter to [redacted] requesting that he get in touch with you immediately. If the E.St. Louis meeting is in the afternoon, I will be glad to speak at your meeting in the evening. In the course of my stay in E. St. Louis I will arrange to give some of my time to discuss with you any problems which you wish to take up.

Faternally yours,

PHIL BART"

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Second letter:

April 9, 1945

[redacted]  
E. St. Louis

Dear [redacted] of St. Louis asked me to speak at a Club meeting Sunday evening, April 22nd. I do not know whether this conflicts with the E. St. Louis meeting. If your meeting is in the afternoon, then I should be able to make it. Otherwise, it will not be possible.

If your meeting is Sunday afternoon, will you please get in touch with her at the St. Louis office immediately and inform her that I was able to attend their meeting. Please do that as soon as you get this letter.

I will be able to spend some time with you late Saturday evening,,since my train arrives at 10:00 P.M.

Faternally yours,

PHIL BART"

(Originals of above quoted letters are being transmitted herewith to the Chicago Field Division.)

CG 100-2644\*

Unknown Source

100-7705-Sub A 4

On February 4, 1946 St. Louis Field Division furnished photostatic copies of correspondence.

One such letter on the letterhead of "Communist Political Association" - ILLINOIS-Indiana District, 208 N. Wells Street, Chicago 6, Illinois.

Letter was dated May 12, 1945 and addressed to [redacted] St. Louis, from PHIL BART.

Letter states that [redacted] will spend about two weeks in E. St. Louis from June 7th to June 22nd. As you know, he is very good in getting subscriptions for The Worker. While in E. St. Louis he can spend time in St. Louis. I would suggest that you get in touch with [redacted] and come to an agreement as to the dates he will spend in your city.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

I hope this will be of help in the circulation of The Worker in your area.

(This letter lists the name of PHILIP BART, Secretary --at the bottom of the page with others. Received - 218, 45

ACG  
CROG  
HMA

[redacted]  
A)66-2185-39 p 2--now 134-9

b7D

[redacted] on February 1, 1946 furnished report dated March 5, 1946.

Listed is the name of:

BART, PHILIP  
Member, - CP, former Dist. Secretary and delegate to  
the Chicago District Committee.

CG 100-2644\*

CS NY 426-S

100-18953-56

Re Memo to Director, FBI from SAC, New York re "Communist Party, USA - Organization - IS-C." dated November 22, 1948.

There is enclosed with this memorandum a photostatic copy of a mailing list pertaining to Communist Party districts which will enable the Bureau to bring up to date, the information set forth in Bureau Bulletin No. 62, Series 1947, dated October 22, 1947.

The original of this mailing list was made available by Confidential Informant NY 426-S. It appears to be of recent issuance.

Listed under Eastern, PA (Del.)

Chair: PHILIP BART 250 S. Broad St.  
Secy: Bob Klinsky Rm. 701, Phila. 2

Subject, [redacted]

105-395-8 p 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

b6  
b7C

Re Report made at Chicago, Illinois September 25, 1950  
by SA [redacted] Title, [redacted] was - IS - R.

Subject of this case, [redacted] furnished signed statement dated September 5, 1950 to SA's [redacted] and G. R. FITZGERALD. In this statement it is stated that MORRIS CHILDS made arrangements for [redacted] to meet an individual by the name of BART, who was from the organizational department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Subject originally met BART on CHILDS' instructions at the International Workers Order offices, located on Washington Street in Chicago, Illinois. BART then questioned subject concerning his background and any knowledge he had concerning radio, and indicated that it might be necessary to him to go to Russia for training. BART told him that the Communist Party had a chain of radio stations around the world which stations were necessary for sending instructions between the various countries. Subject said that he recalled that he asked him if it would not be possible that these stations would be located, and BART stated that the stations used too short of a wave length to be readily located and that the stations were moved frequently. BART did not definitely state that there were such stations in the United States, but more or less implied that the Communist Party had them in the United and elsewhere. BART told him that if he were selected for the assignment



CG 100-2644\*

105-395-8 p 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 cont'd.

that he would meet him at the YMCA located on West 23rd Street in New York City. He also told subject never to admit that he had met him (BART) and that He should never admit that he was a communist.

Subsequently after the above meeting with BART, MORRIS CHILDS furnished subject with the name of CLARENCE G. JORDAN, who was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and told him to write to Milwaukee and secure JORDAN's birth certificate, etc.

MORRIS CHILDS informed SONIA CARTER that as soon as subject received JOHNSON's birth certificate he should apply for a passport to leave the country and that CARTER should furnish him with sufficient funds for transportation to New York City as soon as he obtained his passport.

After receiving the passport subject proceeded to New York via bus and went to the YMCA Hotel on West 23rd, arriving around the first of April of 1936. The following morning he was met in the lobby by BART and BART's wife. He recalled BART had a room at the YMCA which he visited on at least one occasion and noted that he had numerous railroad folders in his room pertaining to railroads in the United States, and stated that he was doing research work.

After having breakfast with BART, Mrs. BART left and BART made a phone call, after which BART and subject left the YMCA and walked along the street and met a man introduced to him as BIAKE. BIAKE was driving a 1936 Ford. At this time subject turned over to BIAKE at BART's request the passport and birth certificate in the name of RICHARD JOHNSON, as well as his Communist Party membership book. While waiting to leave the country subject was more or less on his own and wandered about the city seeing the sights and attending movies. However, he saw BART almost daily and he informed subject that he was no longer connected with the Communist Party in the United States, but was on the payroll of the Communist International, and BART supplied him with funds. After subject had been in New York for several days he was told by BART THAT the trip had been postponed and that he should move from the YMCA where he had been registered under the name of RICHARD JOHNSON, and rent a room elsewhere under the true name and endeavor to secure a birth certificate under his true name. He said as he recalled he rented a room under his true name and subsequently obtained his true birth certificate which he turned over to Mrs. BART, Mr. BART having been ill or unavailable at that time. BART told him that the purpose of securing

105-395-8 p 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 cont'd.

the birth certificate in his true name was to have a copy of his birth certificate available inasmuch as at a later date it might not be so easy to obtain, and if any question arose after returning to the United States he would be able to establish his true identity to the satisfaction of the United States Government, and they would have no record of his ever having left the United States under his true name. It was his belief that the Communist Party kept a file on various birth certificates, which file was probably used in sending Party members from the United States under false passports. Subsequently, after the above, he was informed by BART to go Intourist and was there advised by BIAKE that he should proceed to Europe via steamship. BIAKE also gave him a package containing several radio books which BART and he had previously purchased in New York. He was to deliver this package of radio books to one Comrade MILLER only at the school in Russia. He opened the package to ascertain that they were radio books. These radio books were late technical books, and the author of one was GIRARDI. He accompanied BART when he purchased these books someplace in Greenwich Village. BART told him to avoid any discussions with passengers on the boat, and never to get involved in political discussions or indicate in any way that he was connected with the Communist Party. He recalled that just prior to leaving the United States BART made the remark, "I hope I don't get my neck broken for sending you. Oh, you'll do all right."

He recalled that the day prior to his sailing BART and he had breakfast with EARL BROWDER and Mrs. BROWDER some place in Greenwich Village, which was more or less of a social meeting. Browder questioned him concerning his family and background and he mentioned that he was going to Russia for instruction. When he mentioned this BART became very excited, feeling that he should not inform anyone that he was going to Russia for special schooling.

BART also instructed him not to become involved in any fights and that he should try to hide his feelings if he should become involved in a dangerous or tight situation. BART also informed him that he would see STALIN while in Russia and that he would be in OHM's department. He did not know the significance of OHM's department, and no names of persons in Russia were furnished to him other than Comrade MILLER, to whom he was to deliver the radio books. He also recalled that BART indicated to him that he was one of two persons who were being sent from the United States to Russia. BIAKE and BART both cautioned him repeatedly never to admit that he was a Communist or that he knew them and BIAKE stated that it would be impossible to defend him openly if he became involved in any difficulty, but that the Party would do everything possible for him should he get into any trouble.

CG 100-2644\*

105-395-8 p 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 cont'd.

He was also informed by BART that upon arrival in Moscow he should go to the New Moscow Hotel and register and that thereafter he should go to the Comintern where arrangements would be made for him to go to OHM's department, and that he was to inform them that he had been sent for special work. BART indicated to him that where he would obtain his schooling was about two hours' ride from Moscow and that he would have excellent political and technical instructors at the school. He left the United States on the SS Paris early in May of 1936, and traveled third class.

BART told him prior to his departure that he was not to contact the Communist Party in any foreign countries so long as everything was going smoothly, but that in an emergency he could contact the Communist Party. BART warned him, however that under no circumstances to ever go near any American Consulate in any country.

Inasmuch as he was out of funds it appeared that he had one of three choices, either to go to the Communist Party in France, join the French Foreign Legion, or go to the American Consulate. Finally he went to the American Consulate and talked to ROBERT MURPHY, informing him that he was stranded in Paris without funds. He identified himself at this first meeting as JOHNSON. MURPHY referred him to the Traveler's Aid in Paris and upon going there he was advised that they had no funds for returning him to the United States. He then returned to Mr. MURPHY and disclosed his entire story to him, including the fact that he was in PARIS on a false passport.

Arrangements were then made for his return to the United States and it was his understanding that his clothing and the books which he was to give to Comrade MILLER were secured by the American authorities from his landlord in Paris inasmuch as these were being held for unpaid rent. It was also his understanding that the books which he had been carrying were eventually sent to Washington, D. C. by the State Department. Some one at the U. S. Courthouse at Foleys Square, N. Y. C. also informed him that after he had revealed his true identity, a sum of money, had been sent to the address where he was residing in Paris, the sender of the money being unknown to subject.

After his return to the United States, the only contact had with the Communists whom he previously knew was with Mrs. BART. After he was placed on probation by the Federal Judge he met Mrs. BART in Greenwich Village on 8th Street, near the Health Cafeteria in New York City, and she at first denied knowing subject. He subsequently met her a second time on

CG 100-2644\*

105-395-8 p 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 cont'd.

on 14th Street in New York City, and recall that she remarked on this second meeting that she did not believe in force, yet she thought that he should be forced to get in touch with BROWDER and ascertain what had gone wrong with his trip to Russia. Subject said he did not know where Mr. and Mrs. BART resided in New York, but he believes that it was some place in Greenwich Village.

HELEN FEINSTEIN

100-16744-25 p 20

Re Report made at Miami, Florida, March 14, 1952, by SA JOHN A. HANLEY, III, title, "Changed - HAZEL HELEN WILLIAMS FEINSTEIN, was HELEN WILLIAMS, HELEN FEINSTEIN, Mrs. HERMAN LOUIS FEINSTEIN, HAZEL E.R.L." - SM-C.

FEINSTEIN furnished a list of persons known to be CP members in the Chicago area. HELEN FEINSTEIN claimed she disassociated from the Party in 1948 and was willing to furnish information re known members.

The following is a list of individuals who Mrs. FEINSTEIN recalls were members of the Communist Party. A complete signed statement will be obtained from Mrs. FEINSTEIN relative to the known Communist Party activities of the persons set forth on this list.

Under: I Individuals Believed to be Party Functionaries is listed among others the name of "PHIL BART."

CG 5358-S\*

Q)100-125-978

CG 5358-S\* advised 3:27 P.M. FRED FINE

ED STARR

Woman believed to be MOLLIE LIEBER

AL WAGENKNECHT came into the office and was informed by FINE they want five Chicagoans to lead the picketing in New York tomorrow.

STARR began calling the people in the office into a meeting. Those participating in the meeting included a man believed to be PHIL BART.

CG 100-2644\*

Q)100-125-980

CG 5358-S\* advised June 23, 1949: 11:10 A.M.

PHIL BART

(Man believed to be JIM WEST -Gary.)

BART explained with regard to the conference planned for July 16th that it must project perspectives for the campaign in the situation to which the Party has been subjected in the trial in New York. BART advised WEST that the call for the conference will be out in a few days, and the perspective for the conference is for about 800 to 1,000. It is desired that the people attending the conference representing something and who in time will help develop the movement. He explained how in the Chicago area there will be discussions leading up to the conference.

Q)100-125-1181 p 3

CG 5358-S\* furnished information 3:35 P.M. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT SARAH HAYDEN, PHIL BART (New York).

The discussion was concerned with the press. BART listed following figures as being those in New York on circulation of The Worker in Chicago:

1948	2844
1949	4863

Bundles in 1948 amount to 1800 and to 1900 in 1949. In other words, when an edition was being established, a drive was made on circulation which brought about an increase of subs by the mobilization of the Party that brought about a change didn't take place.

BART advised that nationally the circulation was at the end of 1948, 24,048, and at the end of 1945 close to 26,000.

Before going any farther, nationally they are out to reach 100,000 by the end of the year for The Worker. It is proposed that 50,000 of these should be outside New York, and 50,000 within which means an appropriate increase of 50 % in every edition. LIEBER raised a question as to what are the figures now for the papers here.

BART advised that the New York figures indicate bundles of 1278 for Du Sable and 939 for the Illinois edition, or approximately

CG 100-2644\*

Q)100-125-1181 p 3 cont'd.

a bundle of 2200. When BART said the New York figures for March 1 show a circulation of 2400, HAYDEN said there is something seriously wrong with the figures.

A discussion arose as to these differences and BART finally said he will call New York to check the figures he has, and if he finds there has been a discrepancy toward the figures HAYDEN has, he plans to return to New York to get correct figures prior to going on with his trip.

BART said the thing is that they want to discuss the projection of a yearly program. With the idea of getting 100,000 subs, they want to establish a 12 page paper. Here, he understands the projected idea was to reach a circulation of some 9,000 by the end of the year. He wishes they would work out here a program to get a certain number of subs per month. He also is very concerned with the bundle circulation because that in every district has been constantly going down. Considering the period they are going into, he feels more consideration has to be given to the circulation. It is being planned that in the summer time there will be a short concentration drive, given five months of the paper for a dollar. Nationally, they want to get 10,000 subs during this drive which would mean Chicago should be 1,000. Finally, it is felt the program should be such that the maximum goal to be reached by December would be reached during the summer months. The thing is to work out a month perspective and to organize the concentration campaign around July and August.

BART brought up suggestions that have been made for getting subs. One is the formation of Friends of The Worker. This will be made up of readers who will come to a meeting maybe once a month or every two months. The idea is that these meetings be in the form of lectures, using people in the Party and trying to involve them more and more.

Work is being done on the idea of helping through The Worker, with movies coming out of the offices of The Worker. He feels this should be a very loose organization with no dues, and no cards except just a card for the member.

BART advised that The Friends of The Worker are proposing a tour by MIKE GOLD which will be in the form of lectures combined with other things. He has just returned from two years (?) in Europe. It is proposed that he be in Gary, Indiana on June 13th; St. Louis on June 14th; Milwaukee on June 15th and in Chicago on June 17 and 18.

CG 100-2644\*

Q)100-125-1182

CG 5358-S\* on April 11, 1950 advised:  
(10:25 A.M. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

LEON KATZEN  
LILLIAN GOODMAN  
PHIL BART (New York)

KATZEN asked what is BART's position and was told he is manager of the paper (The Worker.)

LIGHTFOOT wanted to know the gross income of the paper, and this was answered by BART's claiming his expenses every Friday morning are \$15,000.

With regard to the fund drive, BART said he wanted to settle the point that \$5,000 should be sent to New York for the next three weeks.

LIGHTFOOT protested that Illinois has a package deal. BART said the \$15,000 he mentioned is for The Worker, and it is a smaller amount than the \$18,000 asked of Illinois last year.

BART argued that there be an effort to turn in at least \$9000, and feels Illinois will have no trouble with such an amount.

BART inquired if they saw the statement by JOHNNY GATES--- about what would happen if the money did not come in. The national press has picked it up. (This is to the effect that the paper would be curtailed if the money weren't forthcoming.)

DOROTHY MAYR

100-16065-30 p 2

Re Memo to SAC, Chicago from SAC, Los Angeles dated July 12, 1951 re, "EDWARD STARR, was EDWARD BROWN" - IS-C.

b6  
b7C

On July 11, 1951, DOROTHY MAYR furnished SA [ ] a list of persons she had known in Chicago between 1941 and 1946 who were in key positions at the time and whom she feels she has substantive information concerning. If any of these individuals are presently being considered for prosecution under the Smith Act, upon request MAYR will be interviewed specifically concerning them. This list is furnished by MAYR, together with the positions they held during the period she knew them.

CG 100-2644\*

100-16065-30 p 2 cont'd.

Those names preceded by an asterick are persons MAYR knew personally as well as in regard to their activities in the movement:

Listed is the name of:

\*PHIL BART Full time functionary who was at one time District Organizational Secretary.

CG 5425-S\*

R)100-125-1270

CG 5425-S\* March 9, 1951 (11:55A.M.) GIL GREEN  
CARL HIRSCH  
Man believed to be  
PHIL BART

There was some comment about the matter of prizes in the Worker Drive, BART noting winners were announced last week (for New York).

HIRSCH advised BART that SARAH (HAYDEN) broke her arm, etc.

4:10 P.M.

GIL GREEN  
CARL HIRSCH  
MOLLIE LIEBER WEST  
PHIL BART  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
AL WAGENKNECHT

CG 5824-S

100-21222-336 p 2

Re Memo to Director, FBI from SAC, Chicago May 19, 1952  
re "Communist Party - USA - Underground Activities" - IS-C.

On May 8, 1952, CG 5824-S, a former National Committee member of the Communist Party, furnished to SA CARL M. BARTMAN general information concerning his knowledge of the Communist Party underground organization set up as it existed up to 1949. Due to the present condition of the informant's health, the interview was conducted for only one hour.



CG 100-2644\*

100-21222-336 p 2 cont'd.

and additional details will be obtained from this informant after May 25 next.

The Informant advised that there has always been close liaison between the Communist Party - USA and the Communist Party of Canada and stated that it was possible that one or two Communist Party-USA leaders may now be operating from bases in Canada. To substantiate this point, the informant advised that in the early 1940's when the Communist Party of Canada was outlawed, TIM BUCK, a national functionary of Canada, was sent to Chicago to hide out for a period of many months. The Informant advised that BUCK on arriving in Chicago was placed in contact with the Organization Secretary of the Party in Chicago, who at that time was PHIL BART or ED STAR, who was given responsibility for BUCK's care while in Chicago. Informant advised that BUCK hid out in South Chicago at a private residence, location not known to the Informant, and during this period BUCK only left his room occasionally at night to make his contacts. He was not employed and issued orders and wrote articles during the period in which he was in hiding.

b7D

Re Memo to Director from E. J. CONNELLEY, Assistant Director , dated October 6, 1952.

Retels Pittsburgh 10-1-52, "CP - USA, Underground Operations; IS-C" and 10-2-52 "HARBARY".

References indicate [redacted] 6-20-52, attended meeting Erie, Pennsylvania, at which time PHIL BART, District 3 CP functionary advised him GABOR KISH, then District 5 CP underground leader, would be replaced by a CP leader out of New York.

Investigation

100-17965-2676

Re Air-Tel August 6, 1953 from Director.

COMPROS - Philadelphia. On July twenty-nine, thirty and thirtyone, nineteen fifty-three, eight functionaries of the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware were apprehended by Bureau agents on the basis of commissioner's complaints and warrants charging each with

CG 100-2644\*

100-17965-2676 cont'd.

conspiring to violate the Smith Act of nineteen forty. At the time plans were being made to effect the apprehensions in Philadelphia, the Department considered four additional functionaries, namely ROBERT KLONSKY, Dr. ALBERT BLUMBERG, EDWARD STRONG, and PHILLIP BART. An indictment was returned against the eight Philadelphia functionaries on August three, nineteen fiftythree. Meantime, the process against ROBERT KLONSKY remained available and instructions are presently outstanding to several offices to arrest KLONSKY on sight. The Department advised on August two, nineteen fiftythree, its plans to obtain sealed indictments against KLONSKY, BLUMBERG, STRONG and BART on August three, nineteen fifty-three, had been abandoned for security reasons. On August four, nineteen fiftythree, the department issued instructions to departmental attorney BERNARD V. Mc CUSTY, Philadelphia, to also have process available against BLUMBERG, STRONG, and BART. This action by the department now authorizes the arrests of KLONSKY, BLUMBERG, STRONG and BART on sight. In view of this action, each office is instructed to immediately alert all reliable confidential informants to the possible presence of these subjects in the field office territory and pictures of these subjects, which are included in the Communist album in all offices, should be exhibited to the informants. Upon receipt of information that a new functionary has appeared or is scheduled to appear in your territory, immediate and exhaustive efforts should be undertaken to determine if such person is identical with one of the four wanted subjects. The Bureau and Philadelphia should be promptly notified of any such developments and both the Bureau and Philadelphia should be telephonically advised night or day immediately upon the apprehension of any of these four subjects. Absolutely no action should be taken beyond effecting the apprehension and necessary instructions as to additional steps to take will be furnished by the Bureau and Philadelphia at the time of the telephone call. For information of offices, all four subjects have been operating in the underground. ROBERT KLONSKY is known to have been in Philadelphia on June twentyfour, nineteen fifty three, and apparently vacationed somewhere in Maine from July four, nineteen fiftythree, through July twentysix, nineteen fiftythree. He is known to have recently taken a Communist Party assignment in a district other than Philadelphia, possibly in New England. ALBERT BLUMBERG, originally a Baltimore Smith Act subject, is apparently presently assigned to the Party's national steel commission in New York and from January nineteen fiftythree through May nineteen fiftythree was seen almost monthly at steel commission meetings in Pennsylvania where he was known as "Comrade Paul" and "Doc". EDWARD EUGENE STRONG is believed to be operating in the New York City area and was last seen in Philadelphia, visited him in New York in February nineteen fiftythree. PHILIP BART was last seen in New York City in May nineteen fiftythree at a farm bureau meeting where

CG 100-2644\*

100-17965-2676 cont'd.

he was referred to as "Jim". At this meeting it was mentioned that BART had just returned from a long trip for the Party through the Dakotas, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. BART has recently been reported by a highly-placed informant of the Chicago office as occupying a leading underground role in the midwest along with JACK KLING, a missing Milwaukee Smith Act subject. All offices are instructed to afford this matter continuous and preferred attention. All agents engaged in security investigations should immediately familiarize themselves with the contents of this Airtel and with the photographs and descriptions of KLONSKY, BLUMBERG, STONG, and BART. It is again emphasized that immediately upon apprehension of any of these subjects, the Philadelphia office and the Bureau are to be notified telephonically, night or day. There must be absolutely no deviation from these instructions, and the fact that process is available against these four subjects should under no circumstance become known outside the Bureau.

[redacted]  
100-17122-77 p 2

Re Memo to Director, FBI from SAC, Chicago dated March 9, 1954 re [redacted] was - SM-C.

The subject was re-interviewed by SA's WILLIAM J. GROVES, JR., and [redacted] at his residence, [redacted] Chicago, Illinois, on January 20, 1954. The interview began at approximately 6:05 P.M. and ended about 9:15 P.M.

[redacted] was further questioned about other reported CP members with whom he had associated. He admitted knowing PHIL BART and [redacted] as having had some connection with the "Daily Worker" and ART HAENDLE as an individual he met in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1945.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted]  
100-13499-7 p 10

Re Memo to Director, FBI from SAC, New York, subject, "CP, USA, Farm Matters -IS-C."

[redacted] on 5-6, 13, and 20, 1954 furnished sections of report to SA RICHARD H. BIASER. (The original informant's report is maintained as serial 296, [redacted] (P and C.)

CG 100-2644\*

100-13499-7 p 10 cont'd.

Under: "CP at the NFU Convention"

The foregoing recital of inner conditions and weaknesses of the Party is a key toward understanding its inability to attain its objectives at the Denver Convention of NFU, held March 15-22, 1954:

The Party Steering Committee set itself up in Rooms 304-305 of Hotel Newhouse and composed itself of Toohey (NJ), Coe (NY) representing the national CP leadership, and with Slocum, Zoda, and Christman of New Jersey, Ayres of Iowa, Kuchler of upper New York, and for several days included Earnest De Maio, President of the Chicago district of the United Radio and Electrical Workers.

As a result, any attempt by the Steering Committee to impose a policy of any kind was circumscribed by the lack of anyone within the Convention to carry it out. The Steering Committee found itself a group of generals without a single foot soldier.

The failure of the Party to have mobilized a sizeable block of delegates is due, in part, to neglect and belated activity on its part, but also must be evaluated as a sign of weakness, loss of strength and a disconnection between the top national leadership to state leaderships, as well as a certain disconnection between the state leaderships and the local groups. The Party has fairly strong groups and influence in various areas of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Montana, Utah, Texas, and Oklahoma. At an earlier meeting in New York, PHIL BART (who seems to be the Party's mid-west coordinator of a group of farm states) stated that a sizeable block of delegates could be expected. It would seem that the above explanation accounts for the inability of the Party to have achieved any coordinated or systematic preparations for the Convention.

and CG 5824-S

b7D

100-21222-1948 p 3, p 5, p 6

Re Report made at New York November 15, 1954 made by SA JOHN J. KEARNEY, title, "Communist Party, USA, Underground Operations, New York Office" - IS C.

Page 3 is the Index for this report.

p 5 and 6) I COMMUNIST PARTY UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION.

CG 100-2644\*

100-21222-1948 p 3, p 5, p 6 cont'd.

A. Personnel

1. Functionaries

a. National leadership

PHILIP BART, was "Jim"

Prior to his disappearance in August, 1951, PHIL BART was the General Manager of the "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper. BART is a long time member of the Communist Party and has been District Organizer in Philadelphia and Detroit.

[redacted] stated that BART is known as "JIM" in the underground operation.

CG 5824-S advised in February, 1954 that BART for some time in the past had been assigned to the Mid-West area by the National Communist Party office as their underground representative. The Informant believed at that time BART was no longer the representative in that area.

b7D

[redacted] advised on October 29, 1954 that he is to meet with PHIL BART in [redacted] According to the informant, BART is the Communist Party head of seven or eight Midwestern states.

[redacted]  
100-18959-133

b7D

Re Air-Tel 10-29-54 from Bureau, re "CP, USA, Farm Matters" - IS-C.

[redacted] telephonically advised SA R. H. BLASSER on morning of 10-29-54 that he has been instructed by the CP to be in [redacted] to meet with PHIL BART, who informant described as being a CP functionary in charge of seven or eight midwest states for the CP. Informant has been given details of the manner in which he should meet BART in [redacted] but informant did not wish to discuss these details over the telephone and stated he would make the same available at time of next contact. Informant will meet with BART to discuss plans for a [redacted] Chicago. Subsequent

CG 100-2644\*

100-18959-133 cont'd.

to conferring with BART, Informant will depart for Chicago to meet

[redacted] described in my Air-Tel of 10-19-54 to the Bureau, Chicago, and interested offices and captioned, "CP, USA Farm Matters" -IS-C. Bureau and Minneapolis will be advised of further details of meeting with PHIL BART on [redacted] as soon as Informant discusses same at next contact. The Bureau requested by separate Air-Tel this date under the caption of [redacted].

100-18959-134

b7D

Re Air-Tel made at New York 10-29-54 to Bureau,

[redacted]  
Informant telephonically advised SA RICHARD H. BIASER, morning of October 29, 1954, that he has been instructed by the CP to be in [redacted] to meet with PHIL BART, who Informant described as being CP functionary in charge of seven or eight Mid-West States. Informant has been given details of manner in which he is supposed to meet PHIL BART, but Informant did not wish to disclose same over telephone, and will make the same available at time of next contact. Informant will meet with BART to discuss plans for a [redacted] Chicago, Illinois subsequent to conferring with BART. Informant will depart for Chicago to meet [redacted]  
[redacted]

100-18953-968 p 5

b7D

[redacted] orally advised SA'S BRYAN JINNETT of Newark and RICHARD H. BIASER, of the New York Office on August 11, 1955 of the following which he ascertained from PHIL BART on August 4 last, at a National Farm Conference in New York City.

About thirty people were present at a National Conference held August 2 and 3 last. This conference was a preliminary to a bigger conference to be held during October, 1955. 73 persons issued a statement calling upon the government to stop the prosecution of Communists under the Smith Act. Some names appeared on this statement that never previously

CG 100-2644\*

100-18953-968 p 5 cont'd.

b6  
b7c

appeared in such statements. BART indicated the need for this kind of a policy. He cited as an example, NORMAN THOMAS, who hates Communists. After a discussion with [redacted] and after she had gotten him certain material, THOMAS wrote an article to the "Washington Post" and other newspapers urging the Government to review and revise prosecutions under the Smith Act.

p 4) Informant heard from persons present at the national farm conference on August 4th last, that among those persons present for the national conference on August 2 and 3 last was PHIL BART.

BART stated comrades from California and Seattle could not attend although he indicated they were in town. BART indicated he would see them the next day. After the farm conference BART, in car bearing New York license either QQ 58-26 or QQ 56-28, gave informant lift to transportation home.

p 5) Among those present at the National Conference August 4, last, was PHIL BART. BART stated that CC knew farm work had suffered for some time and this conference was held for an informal discussion on farm work and problems the Party faced. No basic decisions were to be made at this conference. BART stated the Party must get back into the National Farmers Union everywhere if it is the progressive farming organization. The agriculture crisis will have its effect on the 1956 elections. The balance in Congress can be shifted due to the tense agricultural situation caused by the Eisenhower and Benson farm policy. If properly handled, this situation can bring about the defeat of Eisenhower and Dulles. BART stated there is inactivity everywhere in Agriculture. BART prefaced this by stating now is the time to move and finally proposed the following:

1) The National Administration Committee has finally decided to establish the National Farm Commission in Chicago under leadership of one person in Chicago (probably LIGHTFOOT.)

2) An Eastern Farm Regional Committee will be formed to deal with the East Coast states and leaders in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, will be drawn together soon to constitute this Committee. The Southern Regional Farm Committee is now functioning. BART indicated he will discuss with California and Seattle the possibility of a Far West Regional Farm Committee.

CG 100-2644\*

100-18953-968 p 5 cont'd.

All districts must be instructed to make immediate preparations for the national convention of the National Farmers Union (NFU), during March, 1956. BART Stated in this regard South Dakota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Colorado, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, and Nebraska, must focus all their attention on the NFU Convention in order to have a sizable bloc of people ready to do the Party's bidding. In these districts where not in the NFU efforts must be made to get back in to the NFU.

BART suggested in this regard that contact be made in Nebraska with MERRIL HANSON (ph) who appears to be a former CP member from Iowa and who now appears to be sympathetic to the Party. BART said Eastern Pennsylvania is presently supposed to be part of New Jersey Eastern Farmers Union. However, the Milford, Pennsylvania local has severed its NJ connections, going in with the NFU of Western Pennsylvania. The rest of Eastern Pennsylvania will have to follow suit in order to get a foothold in the NFU. NJ and NY do not count in the preparation for the NFU as they have been expelled from the NFU.

National Farm Commission, according to BART, not in effect as yet, but it will be worked upon. The Eastern Regional Farm Committee will be established sooner than the National Farm Commission. BART indicated he has been extremely busy and more people are "showing up (out of underground) one by one."

100-22429-202 p 46

Re Report made at New York, March 7, 1956 by SA F. ANTHONY TANSEY, title, "March of Labor, aka MOL" - IS-C. -Internal Security Act of 1950.

B. Contact with CP Functionaries

During July, 1955, [redacted] (7-14-55) advised that PHIL BART, at that time was a member of the National Administrative Committee of the Communist Party, and was planning to visit JOHN STEUBEN who was at that time editor of MOL. Informant furnished no information concerning the reason for BART's desire to see STEUBEN.

b7D

Located - 100-95158-357  
[redacted]



CG 100-2644\*

100-18953-891

Re Air-Tel July 7, 1955 from SAC, Detroit to SAC, Chicago  
re "CP, USA Organization" - IS-C.

Enclosed are 16 photographs of PHIL BART, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT,  
SAM KUSHNER, and an individual tentatively identified as LEON NELSON,  
Instant photographs were taken between June 20 and June 25 at Detroit,  
Michigan.

(Photos will be found in 100-18953-1B 3 (32)).

NY 693-S\*

61-867-3502

Re Memo to SAC, Chicago, October 6, 1955 from SAC,  
New York, subject, "CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT" - IS-C.

NY 693-S\*, who is in a position to furnish reliable  
information concerning activities at Communist Party headquarters at  
268 Seventh Avenue, New York City, advised that on September 16, 1955  
CARL HIRSCH contacted PHIL BART and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. PHIL said that  
he wanted CARL to come to New York on Sunday to prepare a pamphlet on  
the "Till" case. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT thought the idea was weak, so the  
whole deal was called off.

NY 1749-S\* and NY 1750-S\*

100-18953-1721

Re Air-Tel July 20, 1956 from SAC, New York to Director,  
FBI, re "CP, USA Organizations" - IS-C.

Re NY Air-Tel to Bureau, Denver, and Chicago, July 18,  
1956 and NY Tel to Bureau to Denver, July 20, 1956.

Fisur indicated PHIL BART, member of CP National Organization  
Commission, left New York for Denver July 20, 1956. NY 1749-S\* and  
NY 1750-S\* have indicated that BART plans to be in Denver for approximately  
one week. BART then plans to go to Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and  
Chicago in that order, dates unknown. Sources indicated he expects to  
return to New York about August 9th. According to NY 1750-S\*, BART  
advised purpose of trip is "inspection, organization, and direction."

According to source, BART indicated that he is carrying "some-  
thing" for California.

CG 100-2644\*

100-18953-1721 cont'd.

Photo of BART appears in Communist album. All offices cover through established sources and advise appropriate offices of his itinerary if learned. Furnish information obtained to New York.

Investigation

100-18953-1774

Re Air-Tel August 5, 1956 from FBI, Portland, to SAC, San Francisco re "CP, USA Organization" -- IS-C.

Reurtel August three last. PHIL BART departed Portland four forty-five P.M. August five last via SPRR Cascade Streamliner Scheduled ARR SF August six, nine fifteen A.M. BART wearing beige colored straw hat, gray colored summer suit, white shirt, no tie, black shoes, carrying tan colored suitcase.

II MISCELLANEOUS

Daily Worker

Daily Worker, March 23, 1950, p 5, col. 1 and 2

100-2398-901

The Daily Worker, March 23, 1950, page 5, col. 1 and 2 reflects article, "Roberts Leaves Worker, PHIL BART New Manager".

The management of the Daily Worker and The Worker announced that JOSEPH ROBERTS is leaving his position of general manager of our paper to assume other responsibilities in the working-class movement. We wish him the best of luck in his new work, confident that his great organizing ability and devotion to the cause of peace and progress will enable him to equal elsewhere his fine contribution to the growth of our Paper.

At the same time, the management of the Daily Worker is happy to announce PHIL BART will take over the position of general manager. Active for over 25 years in the labor and Communist movement, BART has helped to found and build trade unions in many parts of the country. He has held leading Communist Party posts in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, and come to us after serving as chairman of the Party in Eastern Pennsylvania

We are confident that PHIL BART will have the full cooperation

CG 100-2644\*

100-2398-901 cont'd.

of our readers and the progressive movement in his efforts to make 1950 a banner year in circulation growth of The Worker and Daily Worker.

JOHN GATES, Editor-in-Chief.

Daily Worker  
May 2, 1950, p 7, col. 1

&

Daily Worker  
March 23, 1950, p 5, col. 1

100-14644-54 p 28

b6  
b7C

Re Report made at New York June 20, 1950 by SA [redacted]  
[redacted] title, "Changed - Freedom of the Press Company, Inc." -IS-C.

Freedom of the Press Co., Inc. continues to publish the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker". These publications are printed by the F & D Printing Company which also prints the 'Morning Freiheit'. Editorial offices located at 50 East 13th Street, New York City.

The "Daily Worker" published May 2, 1950, page 7, col. 1, reflected that this newspaper is published daily except Saturday and listed the following officers and editorial staff:

President - BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.  
Secretary-Treas. - HOWARD C. BOLDT  
Editor - JOHN GATES  
Associate Editor - MILTON HOWARD  
Managing Editor - ALAN MAX  
Washington Editor - ROB. F. HALL  
General Manager - PHILIP BART

The "Daily Worker" published March 23, 1950, p 5, col. 1, reflected that JOSEPH ROBERTS was leaving his position as General Manager of the paper and that his place would be taken by PHILIP BART. The announcement was signed by JOHN GATES, Editor-in-Chief.

CS NY 426-S

100-14644-89

CS NY 426-S on June 15, 1951 furnished SA [redacted] and  
SE S. W. JENNINGS three items:

b6  
b7C

CG 100-2644\*

100-14644-89 cont'd.

1. Typewritten letter on letterhead, "The Illinois Worker", dated April 26, 1951 addressed to "Dear PHIL", from "Sara", re plans being formulated by "Damask" to handle "Daily Worker".

2. Typewritten note entitled, "The Sam Damask Account" showing number of "Workers" handled daily by Damask.

3. Typewritten copy of letter dated March 21, 1951 addressed to Sara Hayden, Room 20, 208 N. Wells, Chicago, Ill. with copy to MOLLY WEST from PHIL BART. Letter asks payment of composition bill of over \$600 and stresses need for regular payments if publication of state editions are to continue.

CG 5748-S

100-3859-352 A 4

CG 5748-S on February 22, 1954 furnished SA [ ] an undated letter from "Daily Worker", New York City beginning, "Dear Friend", from PHILIP BART, General Manager. Letter advises subscription to the "Daily Worker" is expiring, and lists the subscription rates for renewal. Also included is an envelope addressed to the Daily Worker and The Worker, 35 East 12th Street, New York 3, New York and bears the name of HARRY FREED, 1739 N. Wells St., Chicago 14, Ill. 2-25-54-M-S.

Workers School

Mr. [ ]

b6  
b7C

61-147-755 p 1, p 2

Mr. [ ] of Internal Revenue, State and Madison Building, Chicago, Illinois, made available to SA [ ] on August 20, 1951, a copy of the announcement of courses for the ninth year of the Workers School, Fall Term of 1941, Winter Term of 1942. Mr. [ ] stated that he obtained the announcement of courses for the year 1941 sometime during 1941 in the Workers School Office at 64 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois some time in 1942, but that he cannot recall the exact date in either case. Mr. [ ] stated that these publications have been in his possession since he obtained them and that he is willing to testify as to the circumstances in which he received the above publications.

CG 100-2644\*

61-147-755 p 1, p 2 cont'd.

The announcement of the Fall Term of the Workers School for 1941 listed among others the instructor, PHIL BART.

The announcement of courses for the Workers School for the Winter Term of 1942 listed among other instructors, PHIL BART.

The abovementioned publications are being retained indefinitely as evidence in the file of PHILLIP BART - 100-2644.

Other Information Concerning PHILIP BART:

Confidential Source Abroad

100-00-504 p 1--now 100-26936-1

A confidential source abroad during April, 1941, submitted information concerning the Lenin School. Date-stamped in this office on June 18, 1951: Individuals reported to have attended the Lenin School:

PHIL BART  
Bufile 100-3284  
NYfile 100-56579 (1930) (?)  
Source: [redacted]  
Last Residence: - New York

b7D

CI PHT 36

100-2810-293 p 2

Re Memo to Director, FBI from SAC, Philadelphia, February 15, 1947, re "Communist Infiltration of Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers" - CIO - IS-C.

On the evening of January 9, 1947, a meeting was held in Room C-8 of the Broadwood Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This room was reserved by [redacted] of the FTA. A verbatim report of the meeting was furnished by Confidential Informant PHT 36 to Special Agents ALBERT L. PIERCE, JOHN W. DOOLEY, and [redacted]

b6  
b7C

The Informant arrived at the meeting at 6:45 P.M. prior to the actual start of the meeting. From 6:45 P.M. to 7:30 P.M., there was disjointed conversation among the people present, none of which could be overheard or reported by the informant.

CG 100-2644\*

100-2810-293 p 2 cont'd.

At 7:30 P.M. the meeting was called to order by JOHN WILLIAMSON, National Labor Secretary of the CP, USA.

JOHN WILLIAMSON: "I would like to recommend, if it meets your approval, that we consider as Chairman of tonight's meeting, the State District Chairman of our Party in this District where we're meeting, Comrade PHIL BART. Is there any other nomination?"

Unknown Man: "I move he be accepted by acclamation."

JOHN WILLIAMSON: "All in favor signify by saying 'aye'."

All: "Aye".

JOHN WILLIAMSON: "We will turn the meeting over to him. I think we should adopt some sort of rules or procedure since we have a lot of work to do in a comparatively short time. Comrade PHIL BART-

PHIL BART: "Comrades, we will have to set a limit, that is, a time limit on the discussion, recognizing that after all in a meeting of this size, the agenda long, unless we have some limitation, we are liable to go on talking on one point and find ourselves running short. I suggest a ten minute limitation for each speaker on one of the points or any of the points, with each person speaking on one of the points or all of the points if they so desire. Any other recommendations? All those in favor say 'aye'. Opposed? (no answer) A ten minute rule will be imposed and if you will help to sort of start off the Convention.---etc.

Chicago Daily Tribune  
2 Star City Final Edition  
November 21, 1950, p 18, col. 2

100-0-54072-A p 2

Chicago Daily Tribune, 2 Star City Final Edition, November 21, 1950, p 18, col. 2 reflects article, "U. S. Jury Paves Way for New Red Exposures" Former Agents Reported Ready to 'Talk' by WILLARD EDWARDS.

A federal Grand Jury's action today paved the way for new revelations of soviet underground operations in Washington under the Roosevelt-Truman regime.

The indictment of 12 persons, including a west coast heiress and an atomic scientist, was followed quickly by reports that certain former communist agents were prepared to "talk" in a bid for immunity from similar prosecution.

CG 100-2644\*

100-0-54072 A p 2 cont'd.

Ten men and two women were indicted by the Grand Jury for contempt of congress. They refused to answer questions on Un-American Activities concerning communist activities of themselves and others.

Seven members of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union, which was expelled as communist controlled by the CIO, also were indicted. They are JULIUS EMSPAK and JAMES MATIES, both of New York; THOMAS J. FITZPATRICK and FRANK PANZINO, both of Pittsburgh; THOMAS QUINN, East Pittsburgh; ESTHER TICE, Cincinnati, and TAIMADGE RALEY, Lockland, O.

The others indicted are PHILIP BART, general manager of the communist New York Daily Worker; PASQUALE LEONARD BRANCA, a Washington drug salesman, and FRANK HASHMALL, Cincinnati.

[REDACTED]  
65-3618-22 p 12

b7D

Re Report made at New York February 28, 1952 by SA ALBERT J. KLEIN, title, "Unknown Subject, was, "Echo, Ekho", "Dick" (Sovme) -" Espionage - R.

Confidential source [REDACTED] contacted SA ALBERT J. KLEIN. It is noted that this informant was in [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This Informant was a [REDACTED] in the New York area, however, he was not in New York during 1944-45 period and the information he had concerning this period was mostly obtained in some way he learned upon his return to the New York area. He advised on December 20, 1951 that as of July, 1945, SAUL WELLMAN became head of the National Cadre and Review Commission, the new name of the National Review Commission, and among those were also members as of July, 1945 was PHIL BART.

Not Identical with Subject:

100-17289\*

Incorrect References:

61-2282-81 p 3  
100-125-802  
100-3313-150A  
100-125-119 #173 photo

Unavailable for Review:

100-25959-1

Unable to locate--serial number changed - A) 134-46-86

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: May 12, 1959

✓ FROM : Director, FBI (100-3284)

SUBJECT: PHILIP BART  
IS-C  
SA-40

Reurlet 1-12-56 captioned "Communist Party, USA, Underground Operations (Communist Album), IS-C," your file, 100-122770.

Inasmuch as it appears that Philip Bart may soon assume the positions in the Communist Party (CP), USA, now held by Robert Thompson, it may be necessary to include his photograph on a chart of national officers of the CPUSA. Referenced New York letter transmitted to the Bureau a photograph of Bart taken in 1955. You are instructed to advise whether this is the best likeness of Bart currently available to your office. If it is not, you should transmit to the Bureau two copies of a more recent picture suitable for use in the preparation of a chart of the national officers of the CPUSA.

*By return mail  
JGC*

100-56579-3353

H. P. QUINN

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 13 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. P. Quinn*

A



New York, New York  
May 15, 1959.

100-56579

Re: Philip Bart

1. Name and Aliases

Philip Bart, also known as: Philip Beral,  
Philip Bera, Philip Strauss, Phil Burt, Phil Bark

2. Residences

1953-1954 - Unknown

1955 - 530 East 22nd Street, Brooklyn, New York

1955 - present - 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, New York

3. Social Security Number

Not available.

4. Employments

1953-1955 - Unknown

1955-February, 1957 - Communist Party, USA

1957-April, 1959 - Pandick Press, 22 Thames Street, New York,  
New York

April, 1959-present - Communist Party, USA

5. Information relative to net worth.

In September, 1958, Philip and Constance Bart rented  
safe deposit box number 1211 at The Manufacturers Trust Company,  
1144 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

1- Internal Revenue Service, NYC

① NY (100-56579)

RLP:gms

(2) *gms*

100-56579-3354

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 15 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY-112

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579) (422)

FROM: SA

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

DATE: 5/15/59

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
SM-C

The above captioned subject was observed entering and/or leaving 23 West 26th St., New York, New York.

NY 1726-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 4/21/57 that effective 4/15/57 the National and New York State offices of the Communist Party would occupy the premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

NY 694-S\* on 6/5/58 advised that the editorial staff of "The Worker" was to be moved into the building at 23 West 26th Street on 6/7,8/58.

NY 2002-S\* on 6/20/58 verified the occupancy of the basement and first floor areas of building by the office staff of "The Worker", an East Coast weekly Communist newspaper.

DATE

OBSERVED BY SAS

4/27/59

[REDACTED]  
WILLIAM J. BARRON

4/29/59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

4/30/59

5/1/59

5/5/59



b6  
b7C

A log covering the above surveillances is being maintained in NY file 100-4931 Sub O.

FJM:gms

(1) gms

*[Handwritten signature]*

*9/1/59*

100-56579-3355

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 16 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signature: H.P. Quinn]*

NY-112

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100- 56579) (422)

FROM: SA [REDACTED] b6  
b7C

DATE: 5/15/59

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
SM-C

The above captioned subject was observed entering and/or leaving 23 West 26th St., New York, New York.

NY 1726-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 4/21/57 that effective 4/15/57 the National and New York State offices of the Communist Party would occupy the premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

NY 694-S\* on 6/5/58 advised that the editorial staff of "The Worker" was to be moved into the building at 23 West 26th Street on 6/7,8/58.

NY 2002-S\* on 6/20/58 verified the occupancy of the basement and first floor areas of building by the office staff of "The Worker", an East Coast weekly Communist newspaper.

DATE

OBSERVED BY SAS

5/6/59

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

5/7/59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

/ /59

/ /59

/ /59

A log covering the above surveillances is being maintained in NY file 100-4931 Sub O.

FJM:gms

(1) gms

76

100-56579-3356

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 15 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-3284)

DATE: 5/18/59

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

SUBJECT: PHILIP BART, aka  
IS-C  
SA-40

NOTED  
SI UNIT  
DATE 5-18-59  
ptk

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows: (specify change only):

Name		
Aliases		
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party	<input type="checkbox"/> Independent Socialist League
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth	Place of Birth	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)  Communist Party, USA 23 West 26th Street New York, New York		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____		
Interested Agencies _____		
Residence Address		

HFQ:ptk

REGISTERED MAIL

100-56579-3352

RTO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284)

5/18/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

PHILIP BART  
IS-C; SMITH ACT 1940

The subject has recently taken employment again as a functionary of the CP, USA. In view of this information subject's name is being restored to the Key Figure list of the NYO and the character of this case changed to IS-C.

Handwriting specimens and a photograph of the subject are already available at the Bureau.

2- Bureau (100-3284) (RM)

1- New York (100-96900) (Key Figure-Top Functionary) (416)

1- New York (100-56579) (415)

HPQ:gm3

(4) *gm3*

100-56579-3358

*lyp*

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

5/19/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

On 5/12/59, NY 2362-S\* advised there was a discussion between PHIL BART and EUGENE DENNIS in CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date. The informant was unable to obtain complete details due to frequent use of the blackboard, but ascertained that the discussion was concerned in part, with the status of DOROTHY HEALEY.

At one point, BART asked DENNIS "How about California?" and DENNIS replied, "Take like Dorothy, she works more subtly, she's not going to make any frontal assault.... If we have a rift in the NEC we'll have a battle from coast to coast." BART then observed, "The California leadership may feel they are being eliminated." He continued, "I talked to Dorothy here at the NC. She is very ticklish about her position of leadership."

Later in the discussion, DENNIS commented that DOROTHY had once spoken to him quite frankly about her views and had asked him quite frankly whether she should resign. He continued that "Dorothy's position in the NC is not generally known and up until the June meeting of the NC they never took a vote. The left and right agreed not to vote....so the first time they took a vote after the June meeting, the District Council took a vote and her vote surprised everybody...."

The informant was unable to furnish any further details as to HEALEY's status at the present time.

4-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)  
    (1-Bufile 100-3-83) (CP, USA - Factionalism)  
    (1-Bufile 100-1) (DOROTHY HEALEY)  
3-102 Angeles (Info) (RM)  
    (1-100- ) (CP, USA - Factionalism)  
    (1-100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)  
1-New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART)  
1-New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)  
1-New York (100-87211) (CP, USA - Factionalism) (415)  
1-New York (100-80641) (415)

100 - 56579 - 335

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MAY 19 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. P. Quinn

JAC:KLV  
(11)

SAC, NEW YORK (100-1696)

5/20/59

SA DONALD E. HARTNETT

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
IS-C; ISA 1950

On 5/11/59, NY 2318-3\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised ARNOLD JOHNSON contacted FLYNN (ELIZABETH GURLEY) on that date regarding the Women's Commission and money that was supposed to be given to EDNA WINSTON. He also mentioned that BETTY GANNETT was working at CP Headquarters and ELIZABETH commented that she had tried to straighten BETTY out but is ready to give up on her.

Both ELIZABETH and ARNOLD also mentioned that they had received letters to appear at the US Attorney's office regarding their Smith Act fine payments and both hoped that they could reduce such payments to \$5.00 a month.

Following this conversation PHIL BART inquired to ELIZABETH as to who would approve money for EDNA WINSTON. ELIZABETH agreed to take up the matter with PEGGY DENNIS and ARNOLD JOHNSON.

Subsequently FLYNN contacted PEGGY DENNIS who agreed to give EDNA \$500.00. They also mentioned a letter that Chicago had sent requesting money for LIL GREEN. They said also that in the future they were going to link together the WINSTON - GREEN and BOB THOMPSON cases together and hope to plan a party to raise funds for EDNA WINSTON.

Also on that date FRANCES LOMAN contacted FLYNN and invited ELIZABETH to go to Switzerland on 6/8/59.

1- New York	(100-16021)	(ARNOLD JOHNSON)	(415)
1- New York	(100-78589)	(EDNA WINSTON)	(415)
1- New York	(100-13483)	(BETTY GANNETT)	(422)
1- New York	(100-56579)	(PHIL BART)	(422)
1- New York	(100-93796)	(PEGGY DENNIS)	(425)
1- New York	(100-89691)	(CP, USA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)	(415)
1- New York	(100-62848)	(FRANCES LOMAN)	(422)
1- New York	(100-116385)		
1- New York	(100-1696)	(415)	

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b7c

DEL:mas  
(9)

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BY *[Signature]* 3/28/10

100-16578-3360  
*[Signature]*  
*[Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

MEMO  
NY 100-1696

(World Committee Meeting to Prepare for International Women's Day Celebration in 1960). ELIZABETH indicated that she has no desire to go. They also discussed LOMAN's previous trip abroad with [redacted] and FLYNN argued neither had any right to take such a trip. LOMAN pointed out that she had a job to do to which ELIZABETH replied she isn't the right person for such a job. LOMAN then indicated that her group desires to meet with Party people and FLYNN indicated that she would see what could be arranged.

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b7c



FBI

Date: 5/20/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL RM  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-52444)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-27452)

SUBJECT: ROBERT GEORGE THOMPSON  
IS-C; SA 1940; ISA 1950

AUSA JOSEPH ALTIER, USDC, SDNY, advised SA MARVIN  
R. DORAN on 5/20/59, that THOMPSON appeared in court that

- 3- Bureau (100-52444) (RM)  
1- New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)  
①- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1- New York (100-60640) (HAROLD COLLINS) (416)  
1- New York (100-56) (MICHAEL DAVIDOW)  
1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)  
1- New York (100-26776) (CHARLES DIRBA) (415)  
1- New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (416)  
1- New York (100-100351) (SYLVIA HALL) (415)  
1- New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)  
1- New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)  
1- New York (100-105078) (HYMAN LUMER) (415)  
1- New York (100-88013) (SOPHIE NASCIEMENTO)  
1- New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)  
1- New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
1- New York (100-54555) (EVELYN WIENER)  
1- New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (416)  
1- New York (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS) (415)  
1- New York (100-8529) (MARY KAUFMAN)  
1- New York (100-80641) (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION) (415)  
1- New York (100-27452) (415)

MRD:gms  
(24)

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent M

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MAY 20 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H.P. Quinn

NY 100-27452

morning with attorney MARY KAUFMAN before Judge GREGORY F. NOONAN. MARY KAUFMAN made no attempt to delay the surrender order at the hearing. Judge NOONAN remanded THOMPSON to the custody of the USM at 10:40 AM to begin serving a 17 month contempt of court sentence.

AUSA ALTIER advised that THOMPSON will be incarcerated in the Federal House of Detention, NYC, until assigned to a penitentiary by the Bureau of Prisons. He said that THOMPSON will probably be transferred to the USP in Atlanta where he served his Smith Act sentence.

SAS [REDACTED] JOHN R. HAWKEN and MARVIN R. DORAN observed the following CP functionaries entering the US Courthouse shortly before he surrendered on 5/20/59:

b6  
b7C

WILLIAM ALBERTSON  
PHIL BART  
HAROLD COLLINS  
MICHAEL DAVIDOW  
EUGENE DENNIS  
CHARLES DIRBA  
BETTY GANNETT  
SYLVIA HALL

JAMES JACKSON  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
HYMAN LUMER  
SOPHIE NASCIEMENTO  
IRVING POTASH  
JACK STACHEL  
EVELYN WIENER  
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr. was observed entering the courthouse following the hearing.

There was no CP demonstration or picketing at the US Courthouse when THOMPSON surrendered.

5/20/59

**A I R T E L**

**AIR MAIL -- REGISTERED**

**TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)**  
**FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)**  
**SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA**  
**ORGANIZATION**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**  
**C I N A L**

CG 5034-S\* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on 5/20/59 that two communications had been received on this date from the National Office of the Communist Party - USA.

One communication is signed "PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary". It states that the fall National Executive Committee is scheduled to meet on 6/9-10/59, and may extend through 6/11/59. The following is the four-point agenda for this National Executive Committee meeting:

- (1) Draft Constitution.
- (2) Draft Resolution on Negro Work.
- (3) Draft National Executive Committee Report.
- (4) An Outline of the Main Political Resolution.

The other communication states that the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA is scheduled to meet on 7/25-26/59, and may extend to 7/27/59. The following is the five-point agenda for the National Committee meeting:

- 3 - Bureau  
② - New York  
    (1 - 100-88641) (CP-USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)  
3 - Chicago  
    (1 - A/134-46)  
    (1 - 100-32307) (CINCL)

JMK/kw  
(2)

H.P.  
Quinn

100-56579-3362

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MAY 21 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*A Quinn*

**CG 100-33741**

- (1) Draft Constitution.**
- (2) Draft Resolution on Negro Work.**
- (3) Draft National Executive Committee Report.**
- (4) An Outline of the Main Political Demands.**
- (5) Guiding Principles of a Party Program.**

**AMERICAN**

SAC, NEW YORK (100-111666)

5/22/59

SA JOHN L. FAGAN

JACK SHULMAN  
IS - C

NY 1694-S\* advised on 5/21/59 that there was a discussion between JACK SHULMAN and an individual believed to be PHIL BART on that date re possible sites for the CP Convention. JACK mentioned the Great Northern and said something should be done fast "because you are dealing with the Thanksgiving week-end".

The individual, believed to be BART, said he wants the Thanksgiving week-end but would be willing to switch dates if a suitable place could not be obtained.

The individual, believed to be BART, subsequently stated, "--- if it comes down to the final analysis and we have to get that I'll take him over and show him the alternative of Adelphi to the Academy".

JACK said he would talk to Adelphi again but did not think it would do any good unless "you" can get him to break down a wall between the meeting halls (it appears the rooms at Adelphi are too small to accomodate the convention).

The individual, believed to be BART, told JACK to fix (ph) up for a meeting of the NC during the last week-end of July the next time JACK sees him (the person in charge at Adelphi). This individual then stated there would be 80 at the NC. SHULMAN said the rooms (at Adelphi) are fine for 80 but that 180-200 would be too many. He said there was ~~no~~ no folding doors at Adelphi whereas Academy has "folding walls".

The individual, believed to be BART, then asked JACK to find out about the Central Plaza on Second Ave. near 16th St. JACK said he would.

- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1- New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (415)
- 1- New York (100-111666) (415)

JLF:gms  
(3)

3363  
[Handwritten signature and stamp]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: 5/22/59

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING  
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO  
IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

- 8- Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
    - (1- 100-3-88) (CP, USA - Factionalism)
    - (1- 100-3-81) (CP, USA - International Relations)
    - (1- 100-3-89) (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
    - (1- 100-3-76) (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
    - (1- 100-3-75) (CP, USA - Negro Question)
    - (1- 100- ) (Cominfil United Steel Workers)
  - 2- Baltimore (Info) (RM)
    - (1- 100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS)
  - 2- Birmingham (Info) (RM)
    - (1- 100-743) (HOSEA HUDSON)
  - 2- Boston (100-20779) (Info) (RM)
    - (1- 100-775) (HOMER BATES CHASE)
  - 1- Buffalo (100-16449) (Info) (RM)
  - 1- Butte (Info) (RM)
  - 6- Chicago (Info) (RM)
    - (1- CG A/134-46)
    - (1- 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
    - (1- 100-12459) (FLO HALL)
    - (1- 100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
    - (1- 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - 3- Cleveland (100-17257) (Info) (RM)
    - (1- 100-421) (GUS HALL)
    - (1- 65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
  - 4- Detroit (100-2050) (Info) (RM)
    - (1- 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
    - (1- 100- ) (FNU) MC ADOO
    - (1- 100- ) (HELEN WINTER) p. 97)
  - 1- Indianapolis (100-11093) (Info) (RM)
- COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE
- 1- New York (100-80641) (415)

HCO:gms  
(79)

100-56579-3364

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MAY 22 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. P. Quinn*

NY 100-80641

COPIES CONTINUED

- 3- Los Angeles (100-26044) (Info) (RM)
  - (1- 100-4663) (BEN DOBBS)
  - (1- 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
- 1- Milwaukee (100-42-I) (Info) (RM)
- 1- Minneapolis (100-1878-P) (Info) (RM)
- 1- Newark (100-4284) (Info) (RM)
- 1- New Haven (Info) (RM)
- 2- Philadelphia (100-31723) (Info) (RM)
  - (1- 65-1686) (THOMAS NABRIED)
- 2- Pittsburgh (Info) (RM)
  - (1- 100- Cominfil United Steel Workers)
- 3- San Francisco (100-27747) (Info) (RM)
  - (1- 65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA)
  - (1- 100- AL LANNON p. 101)
- 3- Seattle (Info) (RM)
  - (1- 100-127) (BURT NELSON)
  - (1- 100- Young Explorers League, p. 80)
- 1- New York (100-86624) (CP,USA - International Relations) (415)
- 1- New York (100-80638) (CP,USA - Membership) (415)
- 1- New York (100-80640) (CP,USA - Negro Question) (415)
- 1- New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
- 1- New York (100-80532) (HERB APTHEKER) (422)
- 1- New York (100-32826) (JAMES ALLEN) (415)
- ①- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1- New York (100-25623) (ERIC BERT) (422)
- 1- New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.) (416)
- 1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- 1- New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
- 1- New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (415) (p.3 & 21)
- 1- New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1- New York (100-13203) (GEORGE MORRIS) (415)
- 1- New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1- New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)

NY 100-80641

COPIES CONTINUED

1- New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)  
1- New York (100-80644) (CP,USA - Youth Matters) (415)  
1- New York (100-89590) (CP,USA - Strategy in Industry) (415)  
1- New York (100-54651) (CP,USA - National Groups) (415)  
1- New York (100-87211) (CP,USA - Factionalism) (415)  
1- New York (100-26018) (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (415)  
1- New York (100-91330) [REDACTED] (412) b6  
1- New York (100-134920) (SCOPE) p. 80 (416) b7C  
1- New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)  
1- New York (100-13473) (SI GERSON) (416) (p. 112)  
1- New York (100-136272) (Youth March on Washington 4/18/59)  
(411)  
1- New York (100-9369) (TED BASSETT) (p. 85) (425)



NY 100-80641

On 4/26/59 and 4/27/59, CG 5824-S\* advised that the following people were in attendance at the NC, CPUSA meeting held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., NYC on 4/25, and 26/59: An asterisk indicates attendance on 4/26/59.

<u>4/25/59</u>	<u>4/26/59</u>	<u>4/25/59</u>	<u>4/26/59</u>
JAMES ALLEN	*	HY LUMER	*
WILLIAM ALBERTSON	*	MILDRED MC ADORY	*
HERB APTHEKER		GEORGE MEYERS	*
PHIL BART	*	CHARLENE MITCHELL	*
ERIC BERT		ROY MIZARA	
EMANUEL BLUM	*	GEORGE MORRIS	*
JOE BRANDT	*	LEW MOROZE	
HOMER BATES CHASE	*	THOMAS NABRIED	*
MORRIS CHILDS	*	BURT NELSON	*
JESUS COLON	*	WILLIAM L. PATTERSON	*
BEN DAVIS	*	PETTIS PERRY	*
EUGENE DENNIS	*	IRVING POTASH	*
CHARLES DIRBA		CONSTANTINE RADZIE	*
BEN DOBBS	*	AL RICHMOND	*
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	*	JOE ROBERTS	*
BETTY GANNETT	*	MILTON ROSEN	
SI GERSON	*	CLARENCE SHARP	*
LOTTIE GORDON		ALAN SHAW	*
ABNER GREEN		ART SHIELDS	
FLO HALL	*	JACK SHULMAN	*
GUS HALL	*	RUTH SHULMAN	
LEM HARRIS	*	JACK STACHEL	*
DOROTHY HEALEY	*	SID TAYLOR	
JOHN HELLMAN	*	BOB THOMPSON	*
HOSEA HUDSON	*	PAT TOOHEY	*
JAMES JACKSON	*	RALPH TURNER	*
ARNOLD JOHNSON	*	LOUIS WEINSTOCK	*
MARTIN JOHNSON	*	ROSE WEINSTOCK	
ANTON KRCHMAREK	*	JAMES WEST	*
SAM KUSHNER	*	MOLLIE WEST	*
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT	*	EVELYN WIENER	*
MICKEY LIMA	*	CARL WINTER	*
CHARLES LOMAN	*	ISADORE WOFSY	*

NY 100-80641

It is noted TED BASSETT, STEVE NELSON and WILLIAM WEINSTONE attended only on 4/26/59.

The following are the highlights and most important statements made at the meeting as reported by NY 2588-S\* on 4/25 and 26/59.

NY 100-80641

FIRST DAY SESSION  
April 25, 1959

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

Most of the comrades know that BOB THOMPSON is scheduled to surrender sometime next week. I believe that most of the National Executive Committee (NEC) have come to appreciate the very important and positive role which BOB has played. At an appropriate time in the meeting comrade BOB will make some remarks on behalf of the NEC. He will also take the occasion to raise before you fellows a few practical steps which even at this late date might alter the conference. THOMPSON will be unable to attend most of the sessions of this meeting of the NEC because as some of you know he has been seriously ill for over 2½ months. He has been hospitalized, has an infection and today is being examined by a neurosurgeon.

I mentioned this so the comrades will know why he is absent. The Executive Committee proposes that the order of business for this very significant meeting shall be first:

1. A report by JIM JACKSON dealing with his observations together with a report on the international significant of the 7 year plan. We propose that discussion on this report shall continue throughout the day.

2. In the evening session there should be a preliminary report on the progress of the NEC to the coming National Convention.

NY 100-80641

3. Informational report from the Trade Union Commission.
4. Informational report on the fund drive.
5. Recommendations of the NEC, CP, USA, regarding the question of moving the national headquarters to Chicago.

The entire session tomorrow shall be devoted to the youth question and the conclusions to be drawn by a report from comrade (HY) LUMER. I move the adoption of this agenda. Before we start I would like to recommend as chairman of the first session comrade BURT NELSON.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

I would like to propose that at opening of this meeting we send greetings to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, HENRY WINSTON and GILBERT GREEN and that we have the proper committee appointed.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

Comrades it was my good fortune to be present at the most historic experience, to be a guest at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union and to share this experience with the leaders of some 33 million communists from all countries of the world. It was a great personal privilege and the most memorable in my entire life.

The famous report of comrade KHRUSHCHEV referred to as the 7 year plan which in its first phase is a blueprint for the establishment of communism in the vast areas of the world. As I said I not only shared this experience with some 1300 delegates representing

NY 100-80641

all portions of the (world) . . . but also with such legendary leaders of communists and workers parties of most of the countries of the world. Seventy-two of the eighty-three CPs of the world were physically present as guests of the 21st Congress.

It was my pleasure to chat on occasion with KEI-WER-SUNG (PH), the leader of the government and head of the heroic CP of North Korea, with CHOU-EN-LAI . . . with the brilliant 34 year old leader of the CP of Indonesia . . . and many many others.

The focus of the whole world for that week of January 27 was on the report of comrade KRUSHCHEV and the exchanges on that report which took place at the convention. Let me indicate a few of the elements of this imaginative, profound and bold 7 year plan. This Congress as you know was called the Congress of the Builders of Communism. Indeed the examination of some of the particulars of the 7 year plan and some of the discussion which took place around it fully confirmed this.

Now as to the significance and elements of the 7 year plan from the standpoint of defining the status and tendencies of the Socialist world. In reference to the economic, social and cultural as well as political features I want to cite some of the facts and figures. First I will indicate the grand dimensions of the vast construction and reconstruction program. First of all before the Convention had assembled there had taken place since November a thoroughly organized discussion throughout the Soviet Union and enlarged sections of the Socialist world on the draft of this 7 year plan. Some half a million people made contributions in written form to provide suggestions, criticisms and addendum to various propositions put forth. Many were incorporated into the final draft of the plan and many more were referred to appropriate parties for further implementation.

NY 100-80641

Now to get some indication of the dimension of this vast construction project of communism, it calls for an 80 per cent increase in industrial output in 7 years. Investment wise as much capital is being put into productive activities or will be placed at the disposal of the production plants between now and 1965 as was invested in the economic construction of Socialism from 1917. For example, the rate of growth will increase at something like 11 per cent a year in many aspects of the economy. This is almost 4 times the rate of growth over the last 10 years of our economy. The standard of living and the cultural life was to be just a measurement in charting and defining the tempo of development at the 21st Congress.

The 7 year plan calls for a boost in agricultural production of some 70 per cent and one must see this figure against the background of present accomplishments. At the present time the gross production of Soviet agriculture (exceeds?) that of the United States in all major commodities. Now in some 3 or 4 years the per capita individual productivity and production of agriculture in the Soviet Union will exceed that of the United States. By 1970 the per capita productivity in the Soviet Union will have caught up with and surpassed the individual per capita productivity of the highest achievement of the capitalist world system, that is the achievement in the United States. All this will be reflected in terms of increase and in standard of living of the people.

At the same time already in progress is the reduction of the working day to 7 hours in most industries and a working week to 5 days in most industries and at the end of the 7 year plan this will be universal.

NY 100-80641

Comrade GEORGE MORRIS and myself had the opportunity to visit some of the shops in which there has been introduced total mechanization. For example, in the ball bearing plant in Moscow, that shop turns out ball bearings from a few micrometers in size to some 8 tons in size and not one is touched by human hands. Comrade MORRIS has written about this and will produce a book in pamphlet form. We had occasion also to visit a automotive plant in which some 81 or 87 operations were performed without a human hand touching the motor blocks. The whole emphasis is to place men in the position of being master of the new tools and where the burdens of labor will be removed and that labor can then become a joy. Man is the master of machinery rather than machinery being the threat to the well being of man.

For example, we speak of an investment in the next 7 years of three trillions rubels. When you pass the 100 million mark and begin talking in units of trillions, numbers become confusing and escape the imagination.

I was speaking of how this vast construction program will reflect itself on the life of the average Soviet citizen in terms of improvements in standard of living. It was stated that the median income and standard of living of the Soviet citizen will surpass the United States in 1970 and will approximate it by the end of the 7 year plan in 1965.

Now this will be reflected in many ways. Some (15?) million apartments are in the plan for construction in the cities and some 7½ to 8 million dwelling units will be built in the countryside. This construction is taking place with the most modern techniques, with an application of the best world

NY 100-80641

experience in construction methods and in comfort for the dwellers. One can see what this means then in the terms of adding to the social consumption of the people. Part of their standard of living is not reflected in their wages but it is reflected in a wealth of services provided by the government. Such services for example/hospitalization, schools, welfare aids in terms of pensions, readily accepted mass outlets for cultural enjoyment . . .

We had occasion to visit some of these mass palaces of culture like the Balty (PH) Palace of Culture in Leningrad. It approximated in those dimensions the (first floor?) of Radio City. On the occasion while I was there some 1800 young people were dancing and there was a theatre going in another section and all kinds of activity. Also I had the occasion to visit the cultural center at the Zill (PH) Automobile Plant in Moscow. Such things have great symbolism to us in terms of standard of living. One thing that struck me in Moscow and other cities was the vast number of television antennas and in the new plan there is a program calling for 14 million additional television sets.

For example, I had occasion to drive often in the new Chata (PH) car, a two tone job. Now they have a big program for producing small automobiles in large numbers, for the general public. What is in the future for the labor force in the Soviet Union is uninterrupted growth. Sixty-six million will be the number of workers in the Soviet Union by 1965.

Now another feature of the economics of the 7 year plan is the balancing out of the development in various areas of the vast Soviet territory with over a 100 nationalities, national groups which make up this vast people. Forty per cent of all this investment of some three trillion rubels will go to those areas like



NY 100-80641

Siberia . . ., those areas far from Moscow, those areas inhabited by the formerly oppressed peoples. In certain areas whole cities have risen in the last 5 years since the opening up of new virgin territories in Siberia.

One of the theoretical propositions put forward in KHRUSHCHEV's report, which we will refer to a little later, was that the (laws?) governing the move from capitalism to socialism, that is the law of (even?) development will not apply and does not apply to the move from socialism to communism. That from socialism to communism all nations in the socialist camp and all nations and areas within the Soviet Union as well will move to communism at more or less the same time . . .

There will also take place a vast flowering of the cultural reformation of Soviet men and women. At the present time there are some 31 million people or thereabouts and in the final years of the 7 year plan there will be some 50 million in school. As it is now the Soviet Union leads the whole world in the number of graduates in engineering, sciences, arts and so forth. This figure will be doubled during the course of the 7 year plan. On one occasion when I was in Leningrad I saw posters advertising lectures in philosophy . . . A great ideological offensive is going on in the Soviet Union to reshape and expand Socialist morality, Socialist morals and Socialist ethics. To emphasize and dramatize the question of work and service of the whole people and not just for material motivation. . . .

KHRUSHCHEV put forth a slogan that Communist men must emerge today in order to achieve Communism at the most rapid pace and to this end a great renaissance in the arts and culture is being unfolded. KHRUSHCHEV signalized other changes that will take place in the transition from Socialism to Communism. What are some of these

NY 100-80641

features? New attention to the problem of the super structure, new attention to the problem of the character and role of the State. Already there has taken place within the Soviet Union much advanced thought and many practical measures to introduce important changes to correspond and conform to the requirements of Communism in the (feature?) and cultures of the State.

Comrade KHRUSHCHEV pointed out that in the Soviet Union there are no longer political prisoners. This was to dramatize one the features emphasized and signalized for continued attention for the coming years to prepare all of the objective and subjective conditions for Communism. That is to progressively eliminate the internal police functions of the State, police functions in terms of (punitive?) functions, transform the methods of discipline within Socialist society as it approaches the threshold of Communism. The functions of police powers to be taken up by private institutions, non-State institutions, collective institutions of the people. KHRUSHCHEV emphasized that already there has been a great reduction in the size of the police apparatus within the Soviet Union. This process will continue and the political basis for it is not only for the preparing all the conditions for Communism but also because Socialism has been established in the Soviet Union. There are no hostile classes to create class contradiction . . . . therefore there is no basis within the Soviet population for mass challenge to the State.

Does this mean that there are no contradictions in Socialist society or within the popular organs in the vanguard CP? No! There are contradictions and there will continue to be contradictions but they are not of a counter revolutionary nature . . . . These contradictions do not require police measure to resolve them. These contradictions are resolved ideologically

NY 100-80641

and with the accompanying administrative changes. What illustrates this better than the case of MOLOTOV and the others . . .

Now let me say a few words about the significance of the 7 year plan on the Socialist world, the Socialist camp as a whole. Thus far I have spoke primarily on the future of the Soviet people and in summary it means that life will be richer, more abundant by 1970 for the Soviet people than is the experience of many people in the whole world. This has great significance for the whole Socialist camp. It will create that position of strength and position of abundance in material values which will make it possible for developing new norms of cooperation. . . .

NY 100-80641

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON (Cont'd)

On the proposition proposed by Comrade KHRUSHCHEV that after attaining socialism all countries will move into the realm of communism in more or less the same general time. This has its economic foundation in the socialist-communist exchange of goods and services and of determined aid to the less developed areas of the socialist world. One could elaborate on this in considerable detail but that summarizes/essence the significance to the socialist world of the Seven Year Plan.

Now let me deal in more detail with the question of the decisive importance of the Seven Year Plan in the struggle for world peace. I want to quote from KHRUSHCHEV's report to the 21st Congress several excerpts. Some of them may be repetitious but the point is that the whole report was to demonstrate the correlation...for achieving the threshold of communism in a measured and defined period of time....

All those who spoke at the congress took pains to demonstrate the relationship between two tasks, the first task of mankind the development set by the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union. KHRUSHCHEV said and I quote, "The Seven Year Plan is a fresh manifestation of the Leninist peaceful policy of the Soviet Union". This quote is from page 86 of KHRUSHCHEV's report. It will play a very big part in solving the cardinal problem of our time, the preservation of world peace. The importance of the plan lies first in its being infused in the spirit of peace. A state which undertakes a giant program of building new factories and other enterprises and which allocates nearly four hundred million rubles for housing and public buildings and sets for itself the task of substantially raising the living standard of its people, that state seeks peace not war.

NY 100-80641

"He" (KHRUSHCHEV) said further on page 162 of the report "Comrades the 21st Party Congress is outlining magnificent plans of peaceful construction. The work of the congress (mirrors?) the will of the party, the whole Soviet people to carry out the plans of communist upbuilding and do their utmost to preserve the peace, to insure peaceful coexistence of countries of different social systems. That is the chief feature of our congress. If they look at this objectively, even the advocates of the cold war will see that the plan our congress is adopting aids....to insure peaceful coexistence and consolidate peace the world over".

And further on page 97 and 98 it is stated that we act upon the principles that relations between states with different social systems must develop on the basis of peaceful coexistence.... We shall never renounce our views and we have no illusions about our plans....of changing theirs but this does not mean that we should go to war.... In each country it is the people themselves that shape their destiny and choose their (method?) of development. The Soviet Union has no intention of forcing its....on anybody. We guide ourselves by LENIN's principles that revolution can not be (exploited?).

Further on page 100 he says that we welcome the efforts of all Americans....to end the cold war and support peaceful coexistence and cooperation between our countries. Sympathy for the American people whose industrial genius and efficiency are known to all the world and are very strong in our country. There are, of course, quite a few difficulties along the path of peaceful coexistence. In following this path both sides will have to show ....mutual understanding, great restraint and if you like, great patience. An extensive development of world trade will do much to slacken

NY 100-80641

international tension and strengthen mutual confidence.

The Soviet economic program of peaceful development for 1959-1965 offers good prospects for the development of Soviet foreign trade with all countries. We can at least double its volume. We offer the capitalist countries peaceful competition and our offer goes beyond the time limit of the Seven Year Plan. Nations can see that our plans are plans of peaceful construction. We call the whole people to work harder for peace and that on our part we shall do everything in our power to insure peace for the whole world.

Continuing JACKSON stated that on page 167 of KHRUSHCHEV's report it is said that we want to compete with the capitalist countries in peaceful fields.... We want ~~each~~ a system to show its economic and spiritual powers in the process of this competition. To put it in the language of businessmen and one that is more understandable to representatives of the capitalist world, let us lay out our wares, the socialist and capitalist world and let each system show where and how long the working day is, how much material and spiritual benefits are received by the working man, what housing is provided, what chances he has of getting an education....

We think that the social system which gives the people those material riches, the system which provides the people with unlimited opportunity of spiritual growth is progressive--that it is the system of the future. We want, therefore, to compete in the production of industrial goods such as meat, butter, milk and other consumer goods rather than in an arms race and the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Then let the people judge for themselves

NY 100-80641

what system best satisfies their requirements.... Continuing JACKSON remarked that KHRUSHCHEV also said that there will be a real possibility for eliminating war as a means of solving international issues and this possibility has a definite relationship to the successful fulfillment of the Seven Year Plan. Indeed when the USSR becomes the leading industrial power of the world and when the Chinese Peoples Republic becomes a mighty industrial power and all of the socialist countries will produce more than half of the worlds industrial output and this will be the case at the end of the Seven Year Plan. At the present the socialist world accounts for some one third of the total industrial output.... Backed by the might of the socialist camp peaceful nations will then be able to compel militant imperialist groups to abandon their plans for a new world war. In this way a real possibility of excluding war from the life of society will take shape even before the universal triumph of socialism, even while capitalism is still existing in some parts of the world....

Now a further point in this connection is the significance of the Seven Year Plan.... Great emphasis was paid by speakers at the 21st Congress and was also dramatized in more than one place in KHRUSHCHEV's report of the new moral force and the new power of attraction that socialism will have in the thoughts and eyes of the workers of all capitalist countries as it approaches and surpasses the material achievements of the highest capitalist country in the world....

Continuing JACKSON remarked that his visit in the Soviet Union for the first time was a revelation of the mass well-being of the people. I was impressed by the riches and the availability of all kinds of consumer goods....

NY 100-80641

Now I want to turn to one other aspect of KHRUSHCHEV's report which will have mutual significance and usefulness to the world Marxist movement and to the CP in all countries, not that this is a new proposition, its principles have been argued rather vainly in the courts by the leaders of our party and argued before public opinion but these propositions have received new authority and are further fortified by the resolution of the 21st Congress. "He" (KHRUSHCHEV) said for example, I propose at this point that the relations governing the CP are relations of brother to brother, are relations of equality. That all parties are equal. That there is no such thing in ...of the CP of a (leading?) party.... That each party has to answer to its own working class in the first instance and has to answer for itself to the world working class for its conduct.... That each party is independent and each party is equal to each other party.... "He" (KHRUSHCHEV) defined the relationship of the Soviet CP to the other CPs as one of the foremost detachments of the world Marxist....not the leader of world Marxists. In many respects the CP of the Soviet Union is superior in experience on many questions and its historic role will endure forever. It was the first party that led the working class to power and therefore it is also the first party that will take its people to the heights of communism....

Continuing JACKSON stated that it was reaffirmed at the 21st Congress that as far as the CP of the Soviet Union is concerned the principles as enumerated in the (12) party declaration are the principles which are the common denominator of ideological oneness of the Marxist Parties of the whole world. These are the ideological roots of the Parties.... Like the source of strength of the working class is unity of workers



NY 100-80641

so / <sup>the</sup> source of strength of the communist movement of the world is its volunteer, fraternal, solicitude and friendship in unity one with the other.....

Now Comrades a few words about certain theoretical questions of important new interests and emphasis that appeared in KHRUSHCHEV's report. In a speech at the Kremlin reception in honor of the Iraqi (PH) Republic Delegation KHRUSHCHEV said that each ideological and practical struggle against... anti-communist is an indispensable compliment.... He illustrated this by saying that communists everywhere are loyal sons of their own people....and that when LENIN returned to Russia from abroad after the February revolution the reactionaries called him a German agent but the people did not believe this lie... Therefore, he said in reference to the situation in the Middle East that Mr. NASSER will gain no laurels by playing the role of fighter against communism. It might for a time bring him into favor with certain circles in the imperialist states. KHRUSHCHEV said in his report on page 104 that we do not count these chieftains of anti-communism when we speak of joint working class action.... It is high time that the representative of all trends in the labor movement to brush aside the (mountebanks?) of anti-communism and to sit around a table and work out a mutual acceptable platform of working class action in defense of their interests of peace.... It can not be achieved without struggle against particular samples of anti-communist poison in the ranks of the people.... Millions of people usually associate fascism with HITLER and MUSSOLINI but we must not rule out the possibility that fascism (will arise?) in forms other than those which have already discredited themselves in the eyes of nations.... Broad sections of the people--all democratic--

NY 100-80641

hands  
forces can and must join/against fascism where ever it asserts itself. In so doing it is very important to stamp out all vestiges of sectarianism which is liable to disrupt the mobilization of the masses against reaction and fascism. The unity of the democratic forces and above all the working class is the most reliable barrier to the fascist threat....

Continuing JACKSON stated that at the 21st Congress it was said that the imperialists are intensifying their political stratagems in propaganda using the so called communist threat as a weapon of intimidation in an effort to split the new states of Asia and Africa.... JACKSON stated that it seemed to him a most interesting proposition, the fact that the fascist danger is not historically past. It is ever in the economics of imperialism...so the fascist danger is not passive.

Now following the 21st Congress there have been a number of occasions in which KHRUSHCHEV and others have aired some of the problems facing the national liberation movement as defined in the relations between the Soviet Union and Egypt and the relations between the Soviet Union and Iraq.... Comrades there are, of course, many other propositions from time to time our party like communists all over the world will find....premises for study and examination.... Now one final point on the theoretical question. That is the question of the main political danger confronting the marxist and socialist movement. That the main danger of the world marxist movement remains as was signalized in the 12 party declaration, the 20th Congress and reaffirmed and documented in the 21st Congress and the center of this is Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav CP and the Yugoslav Communist League succumbed to the

NY 100-80641

international pressures of imperialists in the area of ideology and departed from Marxism and Leninism... Now we come to the relationship with Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union... Where the policies of the Yugoslav Government are serving the interests of world peace, the interests of people, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia stand together. Now the role that has been played by revisionists is to transform contradictions into conflict which will dismember and weaken the world socialist camp. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV in his report on page 105 said that if further consolidation is taking place inside each CP after the November Conference ...the international communist movement is gaining strength.... The miserable handful of opportunists and individuals who have lost their bearing....which polluted the communist movement rose to the surface in the heat of the struggle and was then discarded. The contention of the revisionists have been refuted by the practical struggle of the working class and by the entire process of social development.

JACKSON stated that after KHRUSHCHEV signaled that this represents the most serious and continuing threat at the same time KHRUSHCHEV said there is also the need to combat dogmatism and sectarianism.... JACKSON stated that a considerable length of time was taken to illustrate the negative consequences of both of these dangers.

Continuing JACKSON said that he would now like to say a few words concerning conversation he had with certain delegations. "We" had the opportunity to speak with many delegations to share our thoughts and become acquainted with concrete problems with a number of comrades particularly Latin America, Middle East, France, England and Italy.

NY 100-80641

Among the subjects of conversations and exchanges was for example the Jewish question. I had opportunity to go further into conversation on this question but from my observation and conversations in the Soviet Union in the sense that we speak of national questions--there is no Jewish question in the Soviet Union. The Jewish people are historically and patriotically involved in every aspect in the rebuilding of socialist life today.... Now at the same time and for several years there will and is taking place as I indicated before that 40 per cent of the investment in cultural and capital development will take place precisely in those areas of special national formulation.... As to the Jewish question the policy of the CP in the Soviet Union endorsed by the Soviet Government and joined in by the Jewish people is that the strategic outlook of the development of the Jewish people is integration....

There is great interest in the Negro question in the United States and there is much appreciation of the approach of our party. Now in conclusion a word about how or what the consensus of view of the outstanding marxists of the world to our party. I have talked with many comrades from many countries of the world. This was further attested to in the tribute paid to our party.... Our party in the eyes of the world of leading marxists is considered a good party with a collective Marxist-Leninist leadership. We stand very close to the (top?) with the problems we face today. They see American imperialists as an octopus with tentacles at the throat of the whole world... Nonetheless our party is not singular and alone. We cantcount....in a certain sense the lack of adequacy of members because we are part of a great confraternity of dedicated, resolute and determined men and women.

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- 10 -

NY 100-80641

Dedicated to the proposition that in the name of man, war must not break out again in the world. In the name of humanity, the whole superstructure of our society must be readjusted to conform to the needs, the human needs, a society of socialism and communism. We are part of that and, therefore, we are stronger through the relationship of forces.

Remarks of the Chairman

It is now 1:00 pm and we have two more speakers on the same topic. It is to our interest that we will recess now one hour for lunch.

- 20 -

NY 100-80641

Chairman

Comrades, the vicissitudes of life in capitalist America has created a situation which has us alter our agenda here this afternoon. Comrade CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT), would you develop the situation of interest.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Comrades, the NEC has bestowed a great honor upon me. It has called upon me to convey to you the feeling of the members of the NEC with respect to our beloved comrade BOB THOMPSON. There exists the possibility that comrade THOMPSON will have to serve the remainder of his sentence of a year and a half. Now I often think of BOB (THOMPSON) as I think of the Party, that is that he is indestructable. I recall a year ago March when we were sitting in a meeting of the NEC and word was received that BOB may have to be back in jail in a couple of weeks... We are not as yet resigned to the fact that nothing can be done. BOB has been a very sick man and during these past 18 months he now faces the possibility of surgery, a sickness which was inflicted upon him as a result of beatings received while in the West Street Detention House.

We are going to pursue this question of medical parole and I think it would be fitting if this meeting of the National Committee take this as a very serious matter. To bring to bear in the community as much sentiment as possible regarding a medical parole. In this connection the medical profession ought to be enlisted to assist in this type of campaign.

(WILLIAM Z.) FOSTER was indicted in Foley Square and comrade FOSTER has as yet to be called to trial. Not because the government does not desire it but because there are physical and medical factors involved in his case that prevents the government. There are no less physical factors in the case of comrade BOB THOMPSON. We want to call upon the National Committee, District Organizers and various comrades in political work to take very seriously,

NY 100-80641

a campaign for medical parole.

Now comrades, a few words about BOB. I personally did not know BOB too well prior to going to jail. I heard of him from afar but I didn't participate in the policy councils of the Party. I never knew him very intimately but I have come to know him in the last 18 months under some very trying circumstances. Circumstances of which I am sure all of us will appreciate, as a consequence of the internal struggle that has gone on in the Party for several years. It is the judgment of the NEC and my personal opinion that comrade THOMPSON has been one of the major factors in welding comrades together from diverse political persuasions into a team. I think that BOB has done his job excellently.

Now going to jail is no picnic and no one wants it. But BOB's chief concern was not the question of going to jail. His chief concern was whether he would be around to work in our midst to help solidify a leadership to break the Party out of its isolation and to restore it where I am sure all of us want it to be.

Comrade THOMPSON, may I say to you on behalf of the NEC that your labors for the past 18 months have not been in vain. This Party is going to continue as in the past until it has broken out and become a serious factor in American life.

Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON

I want to thank comrade CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and the Executive Committee. I want to thank also the members here not only for a lot of general things but also for the warmth and comradeship that continues which is one of the fine qualities which our Party has and which no other organization has.

Now, I think you have already been informed that the National Executive Committee has been meeting in the past

NY 100-80641

few days and in the course of these meetings we had our first preliminary exchange with respect to the coming convention. The NEC is going to recommend to this meeting of the National Committee that our July session of the National Committee be the one that we devote essentially to working out the character of the convention and the pre-convention discussions, the questions which will arise in regard to the main doctrine.

It was felt, however, that it would be helpful if this session of the National Committee meeting be given the gist of the thinking of the National Executive Committee with respect to the convention. I want to try to give you as best I can the thinking as it relates to the general character of the convention as we see it. First of all, the NEC is very much of a mind that the leadership of our Party as well as the membership must be highly conscious of the national and world situation in which our Party will be holding its convention. There is a great possibility that a decisive faction of the American working class, the steel workers, will be engaged in a very important battle. A very good probability of a strike struggle. We will be entering this convention when the integration struggle will really begin to break down the Jim Crow structure in the South. It will be a time when in all probability the growing peace forces of the world will once again be called upon to exert their maximum strength to preserve the peace of the world. And in our country there will be an even greater need for our Party to play a role in the organization of the peace sentiment of the American people.

It will be on the eve of the setting of the stage for the 1960 national election. It will be at a point in world history when the world shaking effects of the 21st Congress, of which comrade JACKSON reported this morning. Bearing this in mind, the NEC is very much of a mind that we must not have in our Party, above all its leadership, any concept that we are entering into this pre-convention period unmindful of the struggles of the working people of our country.



NY 100-80641

On the contrary, we must approach this pre-convention period as a serious party of the working class, understanding that what we do in the pre-convention discussion as well as our actions at the convention will have real meaning not just to the membership of our Party but also to the masses of working people of our country. We as the leadership must enter this period with this in our consciousness and high in our understanding. We must enter this convention period with a sober and basic concept of where our Party is today. We must have the confidence that comes from the fact that our Party has demonstrated its capacity to prevent its destruction by revisionism. We must enter this period with full confidence that our Party has met and stood this major test. We must do so with the realistic understanding that while we have made some gains but that this as yet is only a small beginning.

This convention and pre-convention period must be where our Party displays its capacity to develop its theory, its tactics, its policies and its forms of organization. This is the supreme test of the convention and the period that lies ahead.

Now with these things in mind, what are some of the characteristics. Our NEC feels that first and foremost that the convention must above all be a forward looking and outward looking movement in the life of our Party. The dominant characteristics of everything that our Party does and says in the course of the convention must center the attention of the Party on the real problems at hand. That in the areas of trade union work, youth work, electoral activity, Negro peoples movement must bring into being in this country a mass expression of the sentiment of the people for peace. These are then areas where our Party eyes must be focused.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON (CONTINUED)

We must center our attention on writing the answers for the strengthening of the role of the organization. We feel that only if as a responsible leadership of a responsible Party can we insure that in this period we can make a leap forward to a new stage and a new level of work.

The NEC also feels that this convention period will be a period that can result in the establishment of a new relationship between the leadership and membership in our Party, where much of the past is replaced by the strong confidence and bond that should exist between the membership and leadership in the CP. We feel that this can be done if we insure bold and real leadership. If we make real creative progress in the elaboration of the policy, tactics, the organization and forms of work of our Party. We feel also that it is good to require something else and that is the redevelopment in our Party of an ability to utilize in a constructive fashion the weapons of criticism. This is one of the indispensable for the changing of the relationship and the solidifying of a different kind of a unity in our Party.

I think we are reaching a point in the life of our Party and can further reach it in the pre-convention period. We can eliminate factionalism, factional attitudes and approaches. We feel we can begin to reach a point where it is possible for any member of the leading committee of the Party to say "I" made a mistake and then analyze the reasons for this mistake. The Party as a collective will learn from it and come forward. I feel a great need for this in our Party. I feel I also have made some pretty serious mistakes in this period, but I have tried to learn from them.

NY 100-80641

You cannot learn from isolation. You have got to learn from an ability to bring out into the open and talk about it. For example, when I first came out of prison I operated with the wrong concept. I wrote a letter to "The Worker" in which I gave a certain estimate of (JOHN) GATES' where I disagreed with his policies . . . But this was erroneous, one that did not see this phenomena of the right as a class process. As a weapon being used not just be individuals, not a individual proposition, to destroy the CP of the USA. I have learned something from that and think we all could profit from the mistakes I made.

We must develop this concept as a Party to say when the occasion demands that we have adopted a wrong policy, based on wrong estimates and that we are correcting it. Every Party has to do it and we have to have that capacity.

I think for example when I look over this past period that there are a number of questions that we have to be taking the initiative on to correct and rectify. I am sure that in the course of the pre-convention period we will have occasion to consider such problems.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of ROBERT THOMPSON (Cont'd)

It was this revisionist ideology that was being relied on and utilized by the ruling class as a weapon. On the question of democratic centralism wrong ideas were developed.... So we feel that in this period these questions can be dealt with and self criticism can be indulged in but in a practical way and not just to tear down our party or to tear down individual leaders of our party. It should be in a way to strengthen the party and the collective leadership. Further we feel that this convention period will be a period when we put to an end the cancer of factionalism in our party. A period when we bust up existing factional practices in groups and this is very important.

We feel that this will be a period of great creative search for a new style of work and new forms of organization resulting in a much bigger and more effective role. Now I feel that if we can achieve above all the first objective of making this party a forward and outward looking one that we will make this year of the 40th anniversary of our party a party of a deepening of party consciousness, of love of the party and a willingness to sacrifice to build our party. A period where our party begins to move into the American scene as a serious, responsible Marxist party of the working class.

Now in this connection, the NEC wants to propose to you that you authorize the NEC to form certain working committees that will operate between now and the July National Committee meeting in order to prepare a number of main documents that will come before the July National Committee meeting. We are not proposing the

NY 100-80641

setting up of convention committees. These committees will set up material for the July National Committee meeting and they will go out of existence when the tasks are done and the material is put before the committee. The main committees we have in mind will be working committees to prepare a main resolution, something in the nature of an officer's report to the party, on the work of the party during the period between the two conventions. A negro resolution for the convention based on the already substantial resolution of which you are all familiar with, a constitution committee and a special working group, the program committee in order to whip that in to shape for consideration by the National Committee. Together with this will be needed a sort of general resolutions committee that will handle a number of questions. We would like to be empowered by the National Committee to set up these working committees in order that we will have the material on questions of the convention by the time of our July meeting.

Now I would like to conclude by saying that what I tried to do was to give the gist of the thinking of the NEC. Undoubtedly I have not fully reflected....certain differences of approach and formulations. Above all I want to emphasize to you that what I said is not binding on anyone. This is not a binding report being put forward. It is an effort to give the gist of our general outlook....

#### Remarks of the Chairman

We would probably be well advised to act on the reports and recommendations that BOB has given us by virtue of the fact that this morning BOB has to return to his doctor to find out how soon he will have to submit to surgery. For this reason we interrupt the agenda and

NY 100-80641

the chair believes it is wise to act on his report now. Chairman announced that the report was accepted and authorized the NEC to set up the proposed committees. We will now return to the agenda which brings us to Comrade MORRIS CHILDS.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS who requested a special point of interest

Comrades this has to do with the recent lynching today in Mississippi. After consulting here with some of the comrades we thought it would be very appropriate of our National Committee to set forth at once a telegram to the President of the United States. Many of you may not have heard but a young Negro, age 23 named PARKER was seized from a jail from Poplarville, Mississippi, by a lynching mob and according to the latest papers they have neither found PARKER or the lynch mob.

Now much can be said about this and a great deal more will have to be done by our party both in its own name and in its united front connections with many Negro, labor and democratic organizations. We feel as Americans and people interested in human rights and because of our understanding of the negro people that we should react immediately. I am sure all of us realizes that the conditions under which this lynching took place are quite different from years ago before we had such a powerful movement of the Negro people... As well as before we had such a powerful socialist movement in the world led by the Soviet Union and the colonial liberation movement.

Today more than ever I think we have to regard

NY 100-80641

the lynching of one Negro as carrying out the brutal system of oppression against the whole Negro people. I think we have to regard this as a national disaster and a national disgrace and in this spirit I propose a roughly drawn telegram. The telegram reads in part as follows. The seizure of M. C. PARKER, a young Negro worker, from jail by a lynch mob in Poplarville, Mississippi, is a brutal and inhuman act and a national disaster and disgrace. This outrage is not only to ....PARKER but an attempt to smash the heroic movement of the Negro people with their labor and white supporters recently demonstrated in the historic youth march to Washington. A continuing lynch terror against the Negro people and the repeated defiance of law by white supremacists in the South reflect your failure to make an unequivocal declaration, moral justification to enforce the Supreme Court decision in regard to segregated school systems. We join with the Negro people and all other labor and democratic forces in urging immediate and federal action against the perpetrators of this crime. We hold you personally responsible for the protection of the life, liberties and constitutional rights of PARKER and of the Negro people in the deep South.

Informant advised there followed then a general discussion regarding certain phraseology to be used in the final draft of the telegram. It was proposed that they adopt the rough draft of the telegram in principle with the understanding that it will be gone over and gotten out to the President as quickly as possible. The matter was voted on and accepted unanimously.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

Comrades I had the good fortune to travel and visit some of the socialist countries and to be present in the Soviet Union as a visitor to the 21st Congress. As the comrades know I have travelled there in the past, made many visits to the Soviet Union in certain stages of history prior to the Five Year Plan and after. This visit was an experience unlike all the others. The work of the 21st Congress undoubtedly will have a profound political effect on every country of the world including ours.

I want to say that the people are hard at work entering into this new socialist stage, the beginning of the building of communism. The congress was aptly described as a congress of the builders of communism. I associate myself with the report of Comrade JACKSON and therefore will not go into some of the problems in detail. I do, however, want to give you some of my reactions to the events resulting from the congress as well as some of the plans needed to be understood by us and the American people.

All I want to say<sup>is</sup> that the people are not only working harder, they are using initiative, they are living much better, there is no want, there is no rationing and people are well dressed. In fact we were searching for someone with a worn-out overcoat but we could not find anyone in the streets in Moscow. We tried to compare how people dress in the winter in New York.

The people are participating fully in government and are defending the legality of socialism. They are watching to see that it is not abused by this or that bureaucrat.



NY 100-80641

Secondly the party works collectively and Comrade KHRUSHCHEV although he is the leader of the party, the First Secretary of the party, the Premier of the government, he is a part of the collective. He is with the people, honored and loved by the people. In fact they are almost fearful because of his constant mixing and appearances at every public event that take place, inspiring the people....

I want to say that one is inspired watching the building of communism. I visited some of the old cities such as Stalingrad, Leningrad, Gorki (PH) and other places. Many of these cities like Stalingrad which was raised to the ground has been completely rebuilt in a grandiose plan for the future. It is hard to describe that feeling especially when you knew the old city. In the suburbs a new socialist city called the Socialist City has been built.

You know we have been isolated to some extent from the socialist world. The bourgeois tried to keep us from keeping contact, visiting, and so forth. They have special laws for us to prevent us from having a picture of what is transpiring in the socialist world particularly from the Soviet Union. So when one is able to see with one's own eyes what is happening, it is bound to cause some thinking.

ADLAI STEVENSON, who reported last fall and in the April issue of "Progressive" they reprinted a lecture of his delivered in Washington, D. C.. He said that even the very pragmatic political leaders

NY 100-80641

seem to believe profoundly in the truth of their way of life. They are quite confident that it will sweep the world. He said if I have not overstated it that from this flow two consequences: first that no effort, no dedication, no sacrifice is too great in order to realize the CP goal in Soviet society. The second thing is that no corner of humanity can be a matter of indifference to the communist cause. The whole human race is determined to become one in communist brotherhood.

Continuing CHILDS stated that he mentioned this because the bourgeoisie as such does not approach the results of this congress and the building of communism from the same point of view. On the contrary in recent weeks the bourgeoisie has done everything possible to confuse the American people, to confuse the meaning of the challenge of communism as presented in the Seven Year Plan to the American people.

Only yesterday MC ELROY made a speech of this nature. In it he construed the challenge as being that of a military might and as a danger to the American people. ALLAN DULLES a few weeks ago talked in a similar vein as well as several spokesmen of the bourgeoisie who are trying to distort the full significance of the Seven Year Plan. They want to prove it is a danger to the American people.

Comrades as I have said before, the Seven Year Plan has international significance, it will effect every country. The Five Year Plan, which was only the beginning of the construction of the foundation of socialism had profound economic and good political effect on society. In a sense it compelled some

NY 100-80641

countries in Europe to break up its feudal states and carry through land reform because the Soviet Union was marching to socialism. Certainly today as was already stated socialism is irrevocable, communism is going to be built. It will be achieved and no one will stop it. It is going to have a profound effect on our mode of life and on our ideology as well as everything else. In the Soviet Union under the leadership of the party the people are talking about the realization of communism, First of all in the practical sense, the realization of the program that is the Seven Year Plan.... In the speech yesterday MC ELROY said that the most important thing is the struggle in ideology if we are going to remain a capitalist world. He put economics second. Ideology is very important for us because capitalism has outlived its usefulness, this is an ideological problem. But the thing that will move the workers is economic interest, economic things in daily life. I believe that in the Seven Year Plan with the construction of communism we will be able to move the American working class in the direction of a socialist understanding. You will remember that a year ago Comrade KHRUSHCHEV raised the question as to how material things such as bread, butter, meat and the like could help the understanding of socialism. It is more than that....

First of all I would like to say that the decision of the 21st Congress are not unrelated but follow from the decision taken at the 20th Congress. Without the decision of the 20th Congress there could be no unleashing of the energy of the people in the decentralization of industry, the changes in agriculture, new educational policies and so forth. There was a defeat of the anti-party people, the dogmatists who wanted to cling to the old, the conservatives and so on.

NY 100-80641

So that we can not dismiss the fact that the base was laid in the previous congress and indeed the leadership of the CP has shown how they carry through decisions to a higher state in the Seven Year Plan. The bourgeoisie while it is trying to distort the meaning and aims of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp have been compelled now to accept at least the validity of statistics. I want to say a few words about statistics because it is very important. I see in one editorial where the National Bureau of Economic Research with the support of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, certainly not a friend of socialism, in which they admitted in their words the general accuracy of Soviet statistics in their corresponding figures for comparison with the United States. The propagandists for the bourgeoisie will not even challenge their own statistical analysts and scientists. They try to underestimate and to distort. They claim that the Soviet challenge is a threat and therefore we have to arm. On the other hand they say they will not carry through the Seven Year Plan or they will not achieve the miracle of development to outstrip the United States.

Comrades these are a few figures which give the dynamics and are called the industrial production in the socialist countries. For example from January, 1953 to 1957, in the socialist countries there was a 11.4 per cent general average growth but USSR averaged 11.6 per cent. In the capitalist countries for the same period the average growth was 4.2 per cent.... The capitalist countries charge that this is unfair as they use a depression period in the statistics....

Comrades in order to achieve communism the

HCO:keh

- 10 -

NY 100-80641

socialist world and the Soviet Union need peace and time. It is important in the construction of socialism so that it will move the working classes in other countries and our own country. It is important for the Soviet Union to raise the standard of living to the highest possible point and surpass the standard of living in the United States.

Now the American workers are faced with a very serious situation. According to the statistics of the American Federation of Labor, they point out that while we have an upturn in the nation at the present time there are still 4.4 million people hunting for jobs and a million or so who are under employed as they call it. Although American industry turns out goods at a higher rate than ever before and that corporate profits are increasing and profits in the first three months of 1959 will be 40 per cent higher than 1958, despite all of this it is accompanied by a constant increase in the percentage of unemployed.... These are important figures for us. A couple of weeks ago "Pravda" carried a two page spread on unemployment in the United States. Actually there were about seven or eight paragraphs introducing these two pages. The rest of it were reprints from speeches made at the unemployed gathering in Washington, D. C. and from editorials from AFL-CIO newspapers. The "Herald Tribune" took issue with the Soviet Union, they said the Soviet Union was engaged in propaganda. We have got to show to the American working class that this is not propaganda.

Comrades we have got to prove that the challenge is a peaceful challenge and Comrade JACKSON read the words of KHRUSHCHEV to emphasize the challenge was a peaceful competition. The aim of the Soviet Union

NY 100-80641

is toward this and we have got to give some thought to this question.... As far as I know the only group that has submitted a program for peaceful construction, asking for billions of dollars for construction of houses, hospitals, schools and so forth are the Quakers.

Here again we should refer to the decision at the congress regarding trade relations with other countries. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV pointed out that trade can be done during the Seven Year Plan. We know that the leading circles of the American bourgeoisie is trying to destroy the beginnings of negotiations for trade that MIKOYAN undertook while visiting the United States. We know on the other hand that the British bourgeoisie have sent a delegate to make long range agreements with the Soviet Union. We have got to show that this will not hurt the United States...

The Seven Year Plan will certainly make possible more aid to the underdeveloped countries but the Soviet Union seeks nothing from these undeveloped countries. For example the Soviet Union participated in the building of 550 enterprises, 169 of these were in the socialist countries, the rest in other countries... I believe that we have the task to prove that this construction could help solve some of the problems in the United States and at the same time show the inadequacy of capitalism.

Now we have not discussed our means and methods of propaganda. How do we make comparisons? How do we prove to the workers that the standard of living is just as high in the socialist countries if not higher in many respects? It will certainly be

NY 100-80641

higher in the future. Things can be proven not only by statistics but also if we work properly to bring about exchanges of delegations, even individuals, the rank and file from trade unions. They must see that this is what has happened in the Soviet Union and this certainly is not going to hurt the cause of communism.

Comrades we therefore have to understand what is happening in the Soviet Union in the light of the struggle for peace. We have to expose the machinations of the more reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is not of one mind. Perhaps you think that (ADLAI) STEVENSON expresses the more progressive section because he uses different language. It is true he expressed it differently than all the others; certainly differently than ALLAN DULLES. But there are others including influential circles that see no profits in a nuclear war of devastation. We have got to show to the American people that there is profit in peaceful coexistence and enduring peace.

I believe that this will make things easier for the party in the struggle for the daily demands and ultimately for socialism. I saw this morning where some minister, representing a big church group, proposed that the United States sign a non-aggression pact. I am sure that this minister does not speak only for himself or this limited group. There are millions of people that have this sentiment; that would not be willing to engage in a war or to make the sacrifices that MC ELROY asks for. I believe that this is our most important task and our duty just as the comrades in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries say it is their duty to build communism, to show the workers in the capitalist world that socialism is

HCO:keh

- 13 -

NY 100-80641

superior. It is our duty to struggle for peace in order to gain them the time and to make it possible to organize the people for peace in the capitalist world.

Comrades I want to say a few words about the congress and the American party as it is seen in the eyes of these other parties. As I told JIM (JACKSON?) before, JIM was a member of the presiding committee so he was sitting on the podium or stage. Perhaps he did not feel it--mixed with all the delegates. I know he has travelled with many, talked with many and spoke at many meetings but comrades there is a real comradely feeling and appreciation of the American CP amongst the communist leadership of every country that I talked to. They understand some of the difficulties that the party faces here. They understand the meaning of Mc Carthyism. Even the Latin American parties understood when we did not always come forward more boldly and openly. They thought we were struggling heroically under the circumstances.

- 39 -



NY 100-80641

Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS (cont'd)

JIM (JACKSON) was a very good representative of the Party. I heard him speak at a number of meetings. First a speech at the Congress, at institutions of higher learning including the Academy of Social Sciences, the Academy of Philosophy and other institutions. There is a great interest concerning the United States and JIM (JACKSON) was questioned in detail. I am sure that GEORGE (MORRIS) will also have the same story to tell concerning the interests shown for the problems of the United States. At the same time, the central point of discussion would usually lead to the question of peace in the United States. You could never leave a working class meeting or talk to a Communist leader of another country without an appreciation of the fact that our Party is in the forefront fighting for peace.

They know that in this Party they have a staunch defender of peace. They were very happy that the Party was able to rid itself of the ulcers of revisionism and to carry on a struggle against sectarianism . . . So Comrades, I want to agree here with JIM (JACKSON) that while we have suffered many losses and have gone through an internal struggle, we still have to repair the damage. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the world Communist movement our Party is honored. The Latin American countries are also fighting for peace, to prevent their communities from being dragged into the orbit of another war which the American imperialists may want to launch. They are fighting for independence and feel that in the Communist Party of the United States they have a staunch defender of their independence. They say so in no mistaken terms and they wish us well.

They hope that we rebuild the Party, expand our influence, and to participate with them to see that

NY 100-80641

there is peace in this world. I think we should take these discussions down to the lower levels of the Party and we should concretize some of these things insofar as our ability goes.

We should make the American working man fully understand the significance of this challenge and how peace is related to this challenge instead of war. I think if we do these things then we will have done our duty and help in the construction of a new society.

Remarks of Chairman

We will have a five minute break. Following a short break, the chairman stated that in his opinion in order to save time they ought to receive the reports as informational ones and schedule a discussion on the 21st Congress at a later date.

Remarks of an Unknown Male

I would like to make a point of order. I think that the proposition concerning future discussion should be tabled until GEORGE MORRIS finishes his report, since this was a package deal of the three Comrades.

Remarks of Chairman

Your point of order is well taken and the chair will so rule. GEORGE, you have the floor.

Remarks of GEORGE MORRIS

Comrades, I am a little bit on the spot here. First, because there has already been a considerable amount of thought on the question. Secondly, I did not know that I would be requested to make extended remarks on this until I came in this morning. So if

NY 100-80641

I do not make my remarks in a well organized manner, perhaps this is one of the reasons.

I have been back a couple of weeks and within that short space of two weeks you really revive your capital consciousness, you realize you are back in capitalism, that you are no longer on that "magic carpet". That is the way I felt for four months that I was on a "magic carpet". I toured through England and France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union I visited Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad and other places and I tell you, Comrades, that you are bewildered by all the new things you see. In my opinion, the big problem before us in this discussion is how do you convey the spirit, the energy and dynamics behind this movement in the Soviet Union to the people in the United States . . .

The thing that impressed me almost everywhere I visited was the enthusiasm to conclude the Seven Year Plan in a lesser period of time. The second thing that impressed me most and which is necessary to bring to our people in the United States is the feeling among the Soviet people and Socialist countries, this feeling of hope and confidence in the future. When you go to France and England, you do not see that confidence . . .

Now, Comrades, you hear all sorts of people trying to downgrade the Seven Year Plan. You have people like MEANY, for example, and his article, which incidentally I have answered in the form of a 64 page pamphlet. He (MEANY) says that the Seven Year Plan is a cover up and that there is a crises in the Soviet Union, that the sixth Five Year Plan has gone haywire and therefore they had to abandon it. He says they concocted the combination of what was left of the sixth Five Year Plan and called it a new Seven Year Plan. Well, he is the only one this stupid because all the

NY 100-80641

experienced propagandists against Communism will not use that kind of answer. MEANY, however, was put in the position where he had no alternative because he could not retreat from his slave labor thesis that he and his organization have followed for the past forty years.

First of all it is a fact that the Soviet Union had projected a Fifteen Year Plan and this is the first half of that plan. For instance, the success they had in the virgin land situation was far beyond the anticipation of the most optimistic people of the Soviet Union, including KHRUSHCHEV himself. The returns on that have been tremendous. The industrial reorganization on a regional basis is cutting down some of the cumbersome centralization that exists in the Soviet Union, thus realizing the full initiative of the area . . . Then too, there has been a tremendous discovery of natural gas in the Soviet Union. While I was in Bekistan (ph) they told me a little about it because that was one of the major areas where they discovered it. They are building a pipe line to Moscow and it will provide for the whole Moscow area. It opens up the possibility for a tremendous build up of mechanical industry and particularly the plastic industry. Then there is the tremendous discovery of new natural resources. They have discovered it to an extent that most Russians have never dreamed of, and the biggest of all discoveries is the biggest iron ore deposit in the whole world in the area of European Russia, a couple of hundred miles outside of Moscow. This has a possibility of development beyond comprehension. It is the biggest ore find the world has ever had. I do not have to tell you about the tremendous scientific discoveries developed in the Soviet Union in the recent period. Then of course, there is this big reserve that has come up and gone far beyond expectations. This is the enthusiasm, creativeness and initiative of the people themselves, realized in recent years by this democratization that has taken place in the Soviet Union.

NY 100-80641

We should understand that something big and material has happened to make this all possible. KHRUSHCHEV outlined this in a few words. He says the seven years will bring us in many fields past the United States production but it will still be considerably short of United States production on a per capita basis. So another five years will be needed to bring per capita production above that of the United States. . .

Now this organization on a regional basis I spoke of when you go through those areas there is when you find out what is happening . . . Take for example housing. Here MEANY makes a big point of this. He forgets entirely that 1,700 cities were destroyed wholly or in part. He forgets that 14 per cent of the entire housing space was destroyed during the war. He forgets how people lived in caves, millions of them, and I have seen much that still remains in Stalingrad of these shacks that were built hurriedly. People have been living in them for some 15 years waiting to be transferred to apartments. The important thing is that there is a building movement in housing today in the Soviet Union to such a degree that no one ever dreamed of, including the United States. They are far above the United States in housing space made available every year to people. The general plan in the Soviet Union is to liquidate the housing question in 12 years. In places that I visited, they say they plan to liquidate the problem within six years. They are doing it on the basis of new resources that they have discovered. For example in Bekistan, lumber is difficult in that country because it is very dry. They have discovered wild weed, a kind of twig that grows all over the country and they have found ways of making prefabricated wall panels. They are setting up factories all over Bekistan to utilize that material to build wall panels for mass production of houses. So it goes with respect to many other elements.

NY 100-80641

The first thing that hits you when you come off the airport to drive into town is the vast university developments, a tremendous housing development, blocks and blocks of seven-story apartment houses . . . If you were to take Stuyvesant towns and line them up, I don't think you would exhaust the area. Then too, old villages are being cleared out, bulldozers just clearing the whole area. This is what is going on around Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and everywhere else.

This will give you an idea of the prospective. The statistics of the Soviet Union say that in the Seven Year Plan, 75 million people are going to be transferred from old apartments to new ones. In other words, out of every 10 people, 5 will get keys to new apartments.

Now on the average living standard. I asked at every factory that I went to what the average (wage) was and it was about 900 rubles. I do not know if that is the national average but I suspect that it is approximate. You take 900 rubles and tell the American worker and he reduces this to 10 rubles to the dollar. The Seven Year Plan says that at the end of that time there will be a further increase of 40 per cent in living standards. The average American worker would say that even on top of all that he was still better off. The fact is that it is most ridiculous to make a pay envelope comparison between the countries because as KHRUSHCHEV pointed out, the wages a worker gets that are not in his pay envelope. It takes the form of government subsidies in rent because you do not pay rent in the Soviet Union. It is a subsidy by the government, in fact the government builds the houses and after that you pay for services. Then too, medical care is absolutely free. They told me of an American woman who came to visit relatives in Russia. She took

NY 100-80641

sick and they had to give her special treatments. When she recovered and wanted to know how much she would have to pay, they told her it was free. She could not believe it. She screamed that there was something wrong. That woman went away screaming that it was all Communist propaganda. The same is true for education and recreation. You do not pay a nickel to give birth to a child, in fact they pay you for having one. They have prices on what you get after the third, fourth and fifth child on up to the tenth, and then you are a hero. Now when you take all of those facts, they are saving at a higher rate than we are . . .

Then too, a great majority of the workers are on piece work or premium basis. They collect more with a increase in production. Then too, there is this periodical dropping of prices. They will have a general price decrease economy. Where new commodities come out, they are lower in price than the old ones they are replacing. So along with that there is going to be still another element and that is that the Seven Year Plan is going to increase the social benefits by an average of 3,800 rubles per individual. That is the way it comes out on a per capita basis.

They have all gone into a social insurance fund. The social insurance fund is like a great big box with cubbyholes in it, each one having billions of dollars for one or another social fund, such as mothers' care, child care, vacations, sickness and the like. The union dispenses that money. Last year it was 315 billion rubles. In other words there is going to be an increase of almost 40 per cent in the form of new social benefits during the course of the seven years. There is the thing which we have to emphasize to the workers . . . Now take the question of education of youth. They had a big campaign on with this new education system. MEANY

NY 100-80641

makes a big issue out of that too, but I am not going to go into details. The important point is that changes in the education system are also designed like these other changes that have taken place to prepare education to set the needs of the (economy?). This system provides for more education. In the Soviet Union they consider everybody below 18 a child, that is, anyone below 18 works six hours (a day?). Those who begin to work before 15 (years), they work four hours a day as a learner in the factory . . .

Now I had an interview with a Deputy Chief Justice and we discussed this question of youth and juvenile delinquency . . . I think that to stress what the Soviet Union is doing in this could be a tremendous weapon in our hands. He (Deputy Chief Justice) gave me some very interesting material how they are taking away from police the handling of misdemeanors and bringing it into the hands of people's courts. He told me that since 1947 crime among youth has declined some 50 per cent. He also said that in recent months they have cut the militia by 40 per cent because of the cut down of work. In addition to that, they have closed up many courts in the Soviet Union because there is nothing for them to do.

Now, Comrades, I am coming to a close. The point is that we should be cognizant of the changes taking place . . . One of the most important things that you see in the Soviet Union today is that they not only put their aim in peace but their confidence in peace as well. They are doing all this tremendous construction apparently without fear that there might be a war. We are nearing a point where as KHRUSHCHEV stresses, the balance will be so much that the bourgeois will not be able to make war.



NY 100-80641

So we see, Comrades, it is a tremendous problem in which we all have a part. Thus the problem of making certain that this develops to a point where peace would be insured. Then too, the other Socialist countries such as China, are also going along and being stimulated by the Soviet Union. So, Comrades, I think we ought to recognize that we are entering into an era wherein the Soviet Union's achievements are as such, a tremendous inspiration to all Socialist movements in the world. We have an opportunity of catching up to a large extent to this tremendous prestige of the Socialist world. The opportunity of building a Party. Now do not misunderstand me; I do not try to say that the Party can build itself on the basis of developments outside the United States or anything like that. We have a great deal to gain by the gains of the Socialist world as a whole and we should try to utilize this opportunity. I do not think we have been doing this. I think we have to do it much more resolutely.

Comrades, we have to do everything in our power to make possible delegations to the Soviet Union . . . I would like to see, for example, a Negro delegation go through the Soviet Union and particularly spend some time in Lousbecki (ph), a country which before the revolution was one of the most backward areas of the Soviet Union. Today they are making relatively greater progress than any part of the Soviet Union. . . I would like to see all sorts of Negro representatives to the worker's delegation go to the Soviet Union. Let them go as tourists, let them go in any form possible. We should look into all these possibilities and realize that in the next period . . . because what is happening in the Socialist world is running all to the good.

Informant advised that there was much discussion as to whether there should be a discussion period on the reports given regarding the 21st Congress or because of lack of time proceed to other matters.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of an Unknown Female

I am not opposing the motion for obvious reasons, however, I believe that the National Executive Committee should make it easy for the National Committee. It should be in the ability of the National Executive Committee to anticipate discussion.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

The NEC, as far as I recall, decided to have a discussion on the reports. I move that we proceed without further interruption and if necessary to spend the entire evening on it.

Remarks of Chairman

The chair understood that we had a motion which would dispense with the discussion. Your motion is contrary and I cannot entertain it.

Remarks of an Unknown Male

I can think of nothing that will make more difficult the work in New England for I must admit that there is quite a bit of disagreement from the questions we have discussed today. I can't return there and say that we listened to a report that was nearly as long as KHRUSHCHEVs. We had three people to do it and we did not have time for questions and discussion. I believe that this motion is out of order and is not according to the agenda we have adopted and should be voted down.

Remarks of Unknown Female

I would like to suggest that we proceed until 8:00 o'clock on the discussion and then take the agenda from there.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of Chairman

The chair suggests that we vote this motion up or down and move on from there. An individual whose identity was unknown to the informant then stated that there were a number of people present who are not members of the National Committee and should not be permitted to vote.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be BEN DAVIS, JR.

We have a pretty heavy agenda . . . and we might take up the move question tomorrow. We also have a couple of other points on the agenda today. So it is my opinion that we have limited discussion of perhaps two hours and then go on from there.

Remarks of Chairman

We have a motion here. If you do not like it, vote against it. Now all of those who do not want to have a discussion, raise your hand. The motion is lost by a vote of 11 to 19. All right, we will proceed with discussion.

Remarks of Unknown Male

Even under (EARL) BROWDER, there was no open attack within our Party's leadership against the Soviet Union, against the line of Socialism. However, in 1955, I think it is a well recognized fact that our Party, particularly our national leadership, became somewhat disoriented in their attitude toward the Soviet Union. It is also a fact that the 16th National Convention did not succeed in reorienting our Party on the question of international solidarity, on the question of our attitude

NY 100-80641

to the Parties in other lands. This weakened our work in every respect, organizationally, numerically and ideologically. Therefore, I think we can welcome the trip of Comrades JACKSON, CHILDS and MORRIS to the Soviet Union as a big step forward towards re-establishing on our part a positive and friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union.

I think that Comrade JACKSON's report gives us the basis for resolving problems which still haunt our Party. You see I think it is wise that our Party, and leaders of other parties have a positive attitude toward our work. I think that it is our job here today to say that we appreciate your attitude, that we are going to take a self-critical attitude toward our work. We are going to see how we can strengthen our Party in this rather difficult and objective situation. One of the things, I think, that we can do is re-establish a Marxist - Leninist division on the question of the Soviet Union and Hungary. Do not think by any means, Comrades, it was as if we have to pass this question off . . . . Certainly if we cannot do anything less, we can call on those Comrades who were so anxious to rush into print when the working class was under attack and under assault, at a time when the Soviet Union was under the worst campaign of slander in the history of American imperialists . . . . This can be done not from the point of view of beheading anybody, opening old wounds, but from the point of view of reorienting our Party on the question of international solidarity. I think it is high time for such a statement. I assure you that if we do that the effect within the district is going to be positive, is going to resolve in a closing of ranks and a strengthening of the Party. We do not demand of the rank and file, comrade, the same attitude and the same consistency that we do of an active leadership.

NY 100-80641

Furthermore, I do not feel that we can say that we have ousted revisionism, particularly when we review our work on Latin America in respect to Cuba. I frankly do not feel that we did everything we could have done on Cuba. I think we could have had a reporter down there before the revolution was won. I think we could have had observers with CASTRO's forces. I think we could organize delegates to Latin American countries and visit with those Latin American countries. I do not think we have to tale after ERROL FLYNN on a question like this, ERROL FLYNN being down there before we were. It is particularly important that our Party play this kind of role because it is the American imperialists who are reaping huge profits in the exploitation of the Latin American countries.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of Unknown Male (Continued)

Many of us feel that isolation comes from a sectarian dogmatic attitude. The fact is, Comrades.....in Latin America, we have isolated ourselves from Cuban-American workers and from Latin American workers generally. I think also there is a failure to identify the main source of revisionism as American imperialism. Comrade JACKSON said that Yugoslavia is the center (of revisionism) but the source is here in this country.

I think we have to point out ..... the danger of Fascism. We should indicate that this lynching is an attempt by American imperialism ..... to resolve this in a Fascist manner. I think Comrade JACKSON has done a wonderful job in giving this report and laying the basis for our work. Nevertheless it did not do mainly what has to be done in this National Committee and that is to eradicate the main danger of revisionism. He (JACKSON?) did not help this by stating that the ulcer of revisionism has been cut out. That is an objective, it is not a fact. I will finish by saying that the re-establishment of a Marxist-Leninist line on Hungary and the re-establishment of a Marxist-Leninist line on Latin America is indispensable for the growth of our party.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

I think that all of us will agree that one of the most important things is to find a way to popularize to our fellow Americans the significance of the tremendous achievements that are reflected in the 21st Congress. We should be concerned with first KHRUSHCHEV's report itself. If you take off the first few pages of statistics, it becomes difficult for ordinary people to note the significance. Much of what Comrade KHRUSHCHEV said is as exciting a story

NY 100-80641

as could be told to Americans concerning the meaning of collective ownership and of what the significance and grandeur of socialism is to the individual..... We could single out for further exploration..... the question of popularizing such questions for instance as taxation. The American worker it is estimated spends some three months of the year working to pay his taxes. The statement of the 21st Congress is that only in a few years it will be possible to eliminate taxation entirely. Then too there is this question around rent..... I suppose everyone has some idea of what the workers of our own country face with regard to this question of rent. I think that it is also necessary for Communists not only to be able to discuss these questions but it seems to me equally necessary particularly for Communist leaders to attempt to grapple with some of the enormous and exciting ideological problems that are rising on the question of the transition from socialism to Communism.....

The scientific difference between socialism and Communism is clear. What is called socialism is termed by MARX as the first or lower phase of Communist society insofar as the means of production becomes common property. The word Communism is also applicable here providing we do not forget that it is not complete Communism. In its first phase Communism can not get..... economically and entirely free from traditions and traces of capitalism. Hence the interesting phenomenon that Communism in its first phase retains the narrow horizon of bourgeois right. Consequently not only bourgeois right but even bourgeois fate remains for a certain time under Communism without the bourgeoisie.....

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACKSON gave us a magnificent report, a report which will require much thought on our part.....

NY 100-80641

Obviously this is something that we could not undertake tonight but I say we should have limited discussion and in that sense I want to make one or two points realizing that I am not even beginning to discuss some of the things that I would like.

First of all one of the points that was emphasized here again and again by all the speakers is that the Seven Year Plan is a peace plan. We will have to explain again and again and convince the American workers..... For that reason we have some very serious tasks once more in order to have a victory in our party. I have already reported to a number of people on the 21st Congress. The question that comes up is that capitalists say that the Soviet Union will be incapable of carrying out its plan and even if they do they will not prove anything because they are coming from a lower level. They say that when the United States was growing it was also growing at a rapid pace. Fortunately a little booklet was recently issued and in this booklet I found ample material to answer some of these questions. For example, the United States from 1867 to 1907, a period of forty years just after a Civil War made only five per cent (growth?). If you take from 1928 to 1955 the growth for the United States was only 3.6 per cent for twenty-seven years which included the war years. Now the Soviet Union from 1928 to 1955 including the war years was eleven per cent. If you exclude the war years for the Soviet Union it was 15.1 per cent..... Now if you take Britian, Italy and others they are not growing at the rate of the Soviet Union. No country in the history of the world, at any time has had the kind of growth that socialism has and this clearly proves the superiority of socialism.

The last point I want to deal with is this question of challenge. I think we have to be very (bold?) in order



NY 100-80641

to use the word challenge. Challenge to whom? To the capitalists or to the world.....in what sense is it a challenge to the American people. Is it because it will prove that you have workers without any work....

Remarks of an Unknown Male

I think that to go into the theoretical phases of KHRUSHCHEV's report in ten minutes is impossible. The report is so important that it is basic that the National Committee dedicate one day to listen to the three important reports and to take one day to discuss it..... Many of us have read KHRUSHCHEV's report and many have only read the excerpts from it in the "Worker". This is something to be read, to study; something to think about in terms of your trade union or your national minority groups or whatever work you are doing. To let the world know that the National Committee of the United States has dealt with the KHRUSHCHEV report just one half hour before supper is something we ought to consider..... We can not just give seven minutes to one person or ten minutes to another and say we have to discuss the KHRUSHCHEV report....

Remarks of an Individual Believed to be BERT NELSON

I just want to say a word or two about using the achievements of socialism to advantage. I have had a lot of very interesting experiences just within the last couple of months. One thing, a Smith Act case in a small town is a bit of a stabilizer in relationship with others. It has a definite value in that people that you knew before just as acquaintances or fellow workers now start conversation with you. I find too that literally everyone is interested in what is going on in the Soviet Union particularly if you approach it on a level of a particular problem or interest.

NY 100-80641

For instance we have recently had a number of teachers requesting information. They are ordinary teachers who want information about the educational system. They are very pleased to get copies of a pamphlet put out in Canada by a group of Canadian educators that went over to Prague from Canada. I find too that farmers are extremely interested about getting details concerning Soviet farm techniques. I find that people who are interested in aircraft are very interested to get details about Soviet aircraft developments. The extremely important part of it to me is of course the ideological base for the war drive of anticommunism.

Anticommunism is based on a fear of something mysterious and unknown. We have now a wonderful opportunity to debate this mysterious fearful thing and to start humanizing it. I find now a completely different attitude then say seven or eight years ago. Then if you attempted to popularize socialist achievement to a fellow worker it was very likely to result in isolation. Today you can give them information on specific things going on in the Soviet Union as a way to build friendship and contacts. I think if we specialize and particularize..... I think there are opportunities for breaking down anticommunism.

Remarks of an Individual Believed to be SAM KUSHNER

I would like to say just one word and it is that I hope that no one is going to take the 21st Congress and make a factional weapon out of it in our party in this country. The 21st Congress has done a lot of things and it was comprised in JIM's (JACKSON) report. I would say that the most important thing that stuck in my mind was that no party in the world dare isolate itself from its own working class. We have made mistakes and we have done things that are wrong both collectively and individually.....

NY 100-80641

Now I would like to say I heard one other report on recent events in the Soviet Union which impressed me greatly..... HARRY BRIDGES (phonetic)..... I have never heard as good a trade union report based upon discussions with workers on the job. He said nothing about his discussions with the trade union officials of the Soviet Union but he told about his discussions with longshoremen in Keig (phonetic) and other cities. He told them it was easy for him to understand why the Soviet workers do not strike..... now BRIDGES did not agree with everything. He did not see everything necessarily as we would in a report.....

We have a steady pool of unemployed of some five or six million. It will probably get larger and we have got to talk to those people..... now on this question of trade. There are attacks developing based on a new found isolationist..... That the guys overseas are taking our jobs. Tool and die makers in Detroit have had some bitter experiences.... Workers on the West Coast have had bitter experience with Japanese products which have cut down on employment on the West Coast. Reactionary forces like the steel companies are attempting to utilize the fears of the workers and always its .....the antiforeign approach. I think we must cope with this and we can help to find the answers.....

Remarks of an Individual Believed to be LOUIS WEINSTOCK

I still feel that this is not the occasion of the discussion of the 21st Congress and further that there will be more..... I believe you can spend a number of hours on the question of Titoism, on the question of revisionism. The workers are very much interested as to how the 21st Congress would handle international relations..... I believe that discussion is going on and that the documents will be studied and proper language will be drawn. I enjoyed and fully agree with the report.....

NY 100-80641

Now if you want to carry on an attractive job and to convince the American Workers as to the benefits of socialism it will not be safe just to mention that 900 rubles represents \$90.00. We must mentioned what a French worker earns a day and what he can buy in comparison with the 900 rubles. We have to take the common workers in other capitalistic countries and compare them otherwise we are going to miss the boat. Here (United States) you have a strong nationalist gang leader.... of the trade union movement that will do everything they can to stop the interchange between the United States and the Soviet Union. It means they will be able to carry on these lies about the Soviet Union..... So I suggest that in this discussion that we discuss the 21st Congress and the tremendous effect it will have on our daily work. The same time we must make every effort to bring to the American worker how socialism has improved the living standard of the Russian worker ..... I believe that in this way we will be able to bring to the American worker the advantages of socialism and bring socialism to the American worker.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

The transition to Communism in the Soviet Union is certainly inspiring to everyone of us. But more than anything else, what these reports seem to me to require as I read them is to create a feeling of anger. Anger over the robbery that is constantly being perpetrated by the American ruling class at the expense of the potential living standards and cultural development of the American people. If the Soviet Union could in the space of forty years begin to talk about the eradication of attitudes and exploitation..... then just think what a glaring light this throws on the tremendous capacity of the most advanced capitalistic country, with the highest techniques up until recent years and which are being drained off for the benefit of a small circle in our country. It seems

NY 100-80641

to me that this anger should be directed to the class struggle in our country and is our prime duty and concern.

Now one of the main false slogans of the revisionists in our party, those who wanted to liquidate the party of socialism in the United States, was the claim that they were the champions of some sort of American progress whereas our party was the champion of the Soviet Union. Let's not in the name of struggle against revisionism dig up this false issue. The issue in our party never revolved around the question of who championed the interest of the American class as opposed to the championing of the interest of the Soviet Union. It never will be the interest in a truly Marxist-Leninist party. We defeated the revisionist on that issue.

I think that we should not play fast and loose with this so-called ..... (reduction?) of alleged revisionism in our party..... This incidentally is the greatest contribution we can make in the present world situation. Now comrades it would behoove us it seems to me to be extremely concerned about the fate of our own party's theoretical development at this point. We are privileged to be living in a period of tremendous world transformation. One could say that in part of the world mankind is already enjoying the 21st century and we are still trying to pull ourselves out of the 19th century.

That means also that there are unprecedented problems with unwritten answers..... Now comrades "He" did not hesitate to pose this question before the 21st Congress. "He" said that it is necessary to develop bold thinking based on theoretical generalizations of our enormous tactical experience ..... which is the result of moving along the untrodden and unknown road of Communist construction. This he said requires the raising of the social sciences to a new standard. This is true of the Soviet party but can we say for our

NY 100-80641

party there is a need to raise the theoretical standards of our work in the development of social sciences of Marxism-Leninism. Today we must cope with new questions that have never been written before. We must cope with questions of peaceful coexistence..... There were those who said that the Soviet Union is an economic vacuum. There were those who said it would not last 90 days, that it would fail and return to cannibalism. Today they find themselves obliged to think in terms of new relations. We have to help formulate new understanding of the relation of our working class to the peoples of the rest of the world who have moved far beyond what we potentially could have done because we were deprived of doing and enjoying it by the ruling class in our country. All these wonderful things that the Soviet people are now able to enjoy we could have enjoyed long before this. We must create an outcry of anger over this theft of our heritage, this robbery of our perpetual enjoyment, this denial of the future of our children.

The American workers are being told today that Soviet achievement represents a challenge. This has already been spoken of by other comrades. It does not represent a challenge, it represents a promise..... It represents a promise of achievement if the American workers can be organized to struggle for the fulfillment of the potential capacities of our own country's which are being held from them by monopoly rulers.

The question of foreign trade arrived out of the new expansion of the socialist center of the world. It means job opportunities for us. I hope that our party will be able to do such effective work in the development of the people's antimonopoly coalition that we will be able to enjoy the potential that is available out of our own national resources. Failing in that I think the new relations of forces in the world may confront us with a seriousness in which our country may for a time require lend

NY 100-80641

lease in reverse, foreign aid from Soviet countries.....

Remarks of Chairman

The question is should we take an hour and a half for supper or would it not be better to spend that hour and a half on the agenda and go home for the evening. The motion was made and accepted that they would proceed for an hour and a half and adjourn for the day. Before we tackle the next question we do need a motion to accept the reports. All those in favor say I, opposed no. Motion accepted.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

Now comrades when I made this report at the NEC at a recent meeting it was much longer than I expect to make here. Comrades we are at the question of this move to Chicago. I dare say if we were to take a vote now on this question whether it would be more practical - Chicago or New York and without any other questions being considered I have no doubt that the large majority would signify Chicago.

I was appointed by a committee and I served with that committee and finally I became a committee of one. The NEC accepted my report by a majority vote and I am reporting therefore for the NEC which coincides very strongly with my opinion.

I think there are some very compelling arguments against moving. I would say further that the National Executive Committee could be criticized as they took too long to come to a decision. The way I see it now is that it is not possible to move the party. Nothing that we say here will be binding by the convention. Our main motivation is to decide solely on the facts of Chicago or New York.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of JACK STACHEL (continued)

I think that we would like to have the center of the Party nearest to the basic industries of the country. We would like to have the Party centered in a political environment...of the population. I believe that was the motivation of the Convention and it would be our motivation today. I emphasize this because some comrades believe that the Convention acted lightly on this question because there was no discussion. There was no discussion but the Convention acted wisely.

Some comrades here believe that New York would still be the proper place for the Party. They point to the fact that New York is the largest city in the world, that New York has large centers of industry, it is a cultural center, and has the largest Negro population. They also point to the fact that in New York is located the United Nations, a large Spanish-speaking population and a close proximity of organizations in Latin America. They even point to the fact that New York is closer to the Capitol, Washington. In my opinion, all these factors may be correct and would be a very strong consideration; however, there is a tendency to look upon Chicago as being a solution to our problems in our Party. That is one thing we should dispel. I can point to the fact that the Socialist Party had a center in Chicago most of the time and that did not stop it from degeneration. Our Party had a center here (New York) for twenty-seven years and it has not stopped us from doing some very good work. This just proves that it should not be the main consideration, there must be other things.

Now previously a committee was set up to look into this question, and if I am not mistaken, Comrade ELIZABETH (GURLEY FLYNN) and (SAM) KUSHNER together made a report at the last meeting saying that conditions on Chicago had changed to the point where they thought it was unfavorable for moving and the committee was discharged.



NY 100-80641

Now the next job was to investigate what were the problems confronting the NEC in moving to Chicago on the basis of the report that the move can be made....

Now first of all, we have to take into account a number of objective questions. We cannot dispose of these objective questions as unimportant. Such as the present national tension and resurgence of Mc Carthyism. I don't believe I have to spell them out. The national tensions are such, as we know, certain devious situations may arise.... and it would be a danger to the Party. Then too, there is the problems of new trials and the Denver convictions. We also have membership cases coming before the Supreme Court. The first case will be argued...(JUNIUS) SCALES. Then too, there is the attack on the courts by the Bar Association. Many other things can be added.

The next group of questions, in my opinion, that we would have to look into are the problems that have grown... for 32 years. Then too, "The Worker" won't move. You have all sorts of publications, such as "Political Affairs," "The New World," "Mainstream," "Jewish Currents," "Labor Research," International Publishers, New Century and many others that "cooperate" with our movement, that are wholly independent. I am not mentioning the national groups because fortunately they are scattered throughout the country.

Another thing, it would take time to set up cadre in another center. We cannot move all of them and yet, we have to move a considerable number. Today you have the position where most of the cadre are working for private institutions. You have to consider problems of families and so forth. It is not so simple to move people.

For example, the entire staff of "The Worker," and I am not including myself or Comrade (WILLIAM L.) PATTERSON, they said they would have the greatest difficulty if they had to move from a personal point of view. Now, of course, you

NY 100-80641

could say, leave these institutions in New York and move a few comrades and still make a success of it. My opinion of that is that it would create grave danger, a dual center, and create differences from the point of view of the Party being able to carry on its work in its leadership. The result would be that we would not know which is the head and which is the tail. It would result in weakening the authority of the center at the very moment when we have to move to strengthen it.

I am of the deep conviction that if the center were to move to Chicago, "The Worker" would have to move also.

Now the third group of questions are problems of immediate character, the state of the Party itself. Comrades, even at the Convention, we talked of membership in the amount of 18,500. That is what we claimed at that time. The realistic membership today is quoted as one-third of that.... and a good majority are located in the two extremes in geography, California and New York. Now it is true that the Mid-West districts are more important from the point of view that the political ground is good....but yet they still have a narrow basis for membership. If I am not mistaken, three main districts, Illinois, Ohio and Michigan, have renewed about 1,200 members. This is just about one-half the New York membership. Now these create many problems. Not the least of which is financial. I would not underestimate that problem because at this very moment there is grave danger for our whole collective structure. We do not spend so much time on that, we work as if everything will work out in the long run, but I can assure you that the work is in great danger at the present time. New York has to carry \$45,000 out of the \$75,000 annual deficit. Actually it is even more than that. The working class needs \$100,000 annually. This being a Convention year, we will have to raise even more money. Our estimate is a minimum of \$25,000 for the Convention. A larger Convention would cost even more. The Party will have to raise all sorts of money... What we have here is a small Party compelled to carry a heavier and heavier burden. We estimate that if we were to

NY 100-80641

move there would be an additional cost of \$50,000. When HELEN (WINTER) was here in February, the estimate was \$35,000. We estimate the minimum would be \$50,000.

For all these reasons, comrades, the NEC majority came to the conclusion that these are compounding reasons in the objective situation... We came to the conclusion to propose the following:

1. That the National Committee be urged to submit the moving question to the 17th Convention and to address a letter to the membership.

2. We propose that the National Committee set up a strong Mid-West Bureau with one of the National Party Secretaries in charge of working the Mid-West.

3. Create a Mid-West edition of "The Worker."

I would like to add one more point of my own. Comrades, I am convinced that we have to recreate a "Daily Worker" before the 1960 election. For all these reasons, I would urge the adoption of this report.

#### Remarks of the Chairman

The motion is made that there be three speakers for the report and three against, limited to five minutes. Motion carried. Is there any motion now concerning the report?

#### Remarks of an Unknown Male

Let me ask a question, was there any special trade union plans set up for Chicago? I did not quite get that. Is the Trade Union Commission to be retained in New York?

#### Remarks of JACK STACHEL

There are already commissions operating in Chicago... and in the Mid-West. The proposal that was made to the NEC

NY 100-80641

was adopted in principle without going into detail. There will be a Mid-West Bureau and this will include all phases of the Party's work.

Remarks of an Unknown Male

At the Convention, there was discussion by a committee of 26 at great length. Over a hundred people were consulted, so that this represented widespread discussion. I have not been persuaded that the movement at the Convention was incorrect and I did not feel that the proposal is necessary. I do not know how practical it would be at this moment but I say I welcome the move that will strengthen the work in the Mid-West in any event. This is long past due and the Mid-West Bureau is a good step.... I, therefore, feel that the report should be rejected.

Remarks of Another Unknown Male

Comrades, to get the records straight on this question, I was the one who advised the National Committee not to make the move. There was no discussion at the District Board or State Committee on it. There were expressions of concern about the Party moving its headquarters among officials in the Packing House, the ACLU and other liberal elements in that city. This was the atmosphere, some comrades can frown their faces but these are facts and I can verify them. We would have been irresponsible to move the Party to Chicago in such an atmosphere.... We must now face the fact that it is a physical impossibility to move to Chicago before the Convention... Now if you have some argument about what went on for two years, that is another question. I think the question has to be faced here on its merit and I want, therefore, to urge that JACK's report be accepted. I abstained in the NEC on this question, when JACK made his report. I abstained for the reason that arguments were presented to never move, and that I could not go along with. Common sense tells me that we cannot do it.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of Another Unknown Male

I can see an approach to the moving of the center to Chicago based on an outlook that would take two, three or five years, where certain minimum objectives would be accomplished as a pre-condition but this cannot be done before the Convention. I think we have to adopt such a motion on this point alone.... The fact of the matter is that the problem of moving the center to Chicago is simply a question of \$50,000 and more.

Remarks of Another Individual  
Believed to be CARL WINTER

I believe, as JACK (STACHEL) indicated in his report, that the 16th Convention made a wise decision in proposing that the Party move to Chicago.... I think too that we cannot ignore the effects of environment in which the Party would be operating... I do not think that there is anybody so foolhardy as to propose that we should move to Chicago now or next month. Now what I object to is any arguments which tend to make it appear that the new set of circumstances could be read retroactively in terms of wisdom of a Convention decision. The referendum at the Convention did not say we should move tomorrow. It said within one year. If on the other hand, the National leadership had come to the conclusion before the year was up that circumstances were different than what the Convention found them to be, and then we should not carry out the decision. But it was incumbent on the National leadership to go back to the Party membership and to say no. I cannot see how we can resolve this question merely by saying that we cannot move, therefore, we will toss the ball back to the next Convention. I think that the least we can do is to state that we have failed. I, therefore, can't go along with the mere motion which is merely to continue the shirking of responsibility of the National Committee. We shirked this responsibility from the 16th Convention until now and we continue to shirk it until the next Convention. I think we must frankly

NY 100-80641

say to the Party membership that we were in error.

The informant advised that the Chairman at this point interrupted WINTER to comment that his time was up, but WINTER requested an additional minute or two.

Continuing, WINTER remarked that they would have to repair some of the damage that had been done to the confidence in our Party leadership. The least we can do to repair the situation is to say to the Party membership that the National Committee should have taken the membership into its confidence before the year was up. I have opposed and I think it would be a disservice to enter into the 17th Convention under an umbrella where we do not openly present before the Party the facts. That is not the way to go into a Party Convention. That is not the way to restore confidence in Party leadership. Unless such a motion be attached to this report, I do not see how I can support it.

The informant advised that there was some discussion on the proposal made by WINTER regarding an attachment to the report of STACHEL. WINTER, in answer to a question, said again that his proposal was that instead of merely submitting this question before the 17th Convention, that they should add to the report and that every letter that is sent to the Party membership that the National Committee assumes the responsibility in a self-critical way for failure to discuss this matter with the Party.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

It is true that certain questions were left open in my report, and we cannot decide everything... I think the report should be accepted without any amendment.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of the Chairman

The spirit of self-criticism was included in the Committee's report. It includes the essence of the amendment that CARL (WINTER) wanted to make. That is the proposition that we are voting for.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

I am sorry to say that you cannot characterize the amendment. It does not include the spirit in which I made the amendment.

Remarks of Chairman

All right, we will vote on the amendment. The amendment lost, 12 in favor, 18 against.

We now come to the main motion. All those in favor raise your hand, opposed, abstentions. The committee's report is carried by a vote of 26 in favor, 2 against and 6 abstentions.

Remarks of an Unknown Female

I want to request the comrades that starting tomorrow there be organized a brief period of time to hear a brief informational report on the question relating to Comrade LOMAN.

Remarks of the Chairman

The Legislative Committee will take this under advisement for tomorrow.

Meeting adjourned.

NY 100-80641

SECOND DAY'S SESSION  
APRIL 26, 1959

GUS HALL was elected Chairman of this session and the agenda was announced as follows:

1. Report on Youth March to Washington (held April 18, 1959.)
2. Report on CP youth program.
3. Report on Steel.

Remarks of HY LUMER

As a preliminary to my own report, I am going to read a draft statement on the Youth March presented by [redacted] [redacted] who is not here.

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The second Youth March for integrated schools held in Washington, D.C., was perhaps the most significant political event participated in by American youth in nearly fifteen years. The background of the event, which provided the stimulus for the unprecedented number of youth participants, was as follows:

1. The Youth March last October participated in by some 12,000 marchers, whose delegation to the White House was refused admittance by President EISENHOWER.
2. The stepped-up campaign of terror against Negro youth in the South in recent months.
3. The growing popular movement against passive resistance and against the so-called massive resistance in Virginia - leadership being provided mainly by the NAACP, the Negro church and the effect of school boycott by the Negro people in Greene County, North Carolina.
4. The convening of the historic ACRA Conference and the emergence of a number of youthful African leaders in international affairs.



NY 100-80641

Underlying these events is the growing realization among broad sections of the American people that there exists a hard core of State Governments in the South using every means at their disposal to resist the Supreme Court segregation decisions.

There were important new features of this Youth March. First among these, is that the March had the endorsement of some thirty national organizations. These organizations included labor, civic, religious, Negro, Jewish and others. In addition, there was support from nationally prominent personalities in the field of arts and sciences as well as from colleges. Of considerable importance in this respect was the endorsement of the million member National Students Association, which has several hundred chapters on college campuses throughout the country. There was also support from the NAACP Youth Council, the President of the Spanish American Youth Bureau in New York, and the United Christian Youth Movement.

These endorsements and sponsorships provided the elementary basis for the participation of a large cross-section of American Jews. Secondly, the simultaneous launching of a petition campaign, which called upon the President and Congress to initiate a legislative and executive program for desegregation of schools in the country, provided a maximum program of activity which facilitated the organizing of the Youth March. Thirdly, the participation of Negro people in the Youth March, organized largely by the NAACP Youth Councils in the churches, resulted in Negro participation being about 60 or 65 per cent of the total.

Briefly, the main achievements of the second Youth March are as follows:

1. Number of participants doubled over and above the first March, reaching around 25,000.
2. Some 400,000 signatures were collected throughout the country on the Youth March petition.

NY 100-80641

3. This March made some important beginnings towards reaching and involving the militant youth of the South. This was particularly true on a number of college and high school campuses. Practically all Negroes came by bus, plane and auto from Virginia, Florida, North Carolina, Indiana, Tennessee and Montgomery, Alabama.

4. A large contingent of youth marched under the banner of their unions. Perhaps the most representative of these was a large delegation of youth marchers from the Municipal Employees Union in New York. Both UE (United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America) and Packing House were among the unions that played a significant role in the March.

5. A small inter-racial delegation was at least admitted behind the gates of the White House and permitted to leave a statement with two of President EISENHOWER's aides. This was a small but important concession by the EISENHOWER administration.

As compared with the first Youth March last October, the recent Youth March and petition campaign had begun to exhibit the dimensions and elementary organization, and features of the youth movement. This is of great significance and further consolidation and development of this feature is of primary importance. Natural leaders are the active youth who took the initiative in organizing the circulation of the petitions and in organizing dances and other social affairs. These youth demonstrated the kind of leadership needed for a youth movement and to strengthen the program of all existing youth organizations. This movement is in the first place a movement involving the participation of youth organizations. It does not try to replace or substitute for any organization. Such a movement fulfills a great need for today's generation of youth.

The school integration struggle today is the common ground upon which all sections of the American youth population unite, work together, and move forward along the road of progress for greater educational opportunities,

NY 100-80641

increased job opportunities, and some rounder recreational activities achieved in a world of peace. The program set forth for the youth provided a sound minimum basis for continuing and expanding the levels of youth unity already achieved. The four points of that program are as follows:

1. To continue our efforts for passage of the Douglas-Javits Bill.
2. To continue the circulation of the youth petition and to ask the Youth March National Office to arrange for the delivery of these petitions.
3. To work for the liberation from jail of ASBURY HOWARD, Jr., unjustly sentenced to the chain gang.
4. To unite for equality.

Undoubtedly the firsthand reports which the youth marchers will take back to their home towns, as well as the continued circulation of the youth petition, will keep enthusiasm high.

In order to realize the great potential which the present movement presents, it will be necessary for those identified with it to give consideration to the following problems:

1. The problem of timing and communication between youth groups over large areas. In many localities the petition campaign as well as petitions for the trip to Washington were late getting started. This was due to somewhat ineffective coordination with the National Headquarters. There was also a very limited amount of field organizing done by representatives of the National Headquarters. Much potential strength for the Youth March was not mobilized because of these deficiencies. In some local areas, certain individuals, who accepted responsibility for coordinating the March, fulfilled the responsibility in a very sluggish manner or not at all.

NY 100-80641

2. The very negligible participation by the Washington, D.C., community reflected the fact that advanced planning designed to guarantee involvement of the Washington community was quite inadequate. Washington is literally a university city with thousands of students. Further, its population has experienced segregation. Further than this, many of the national organizations, which endorsed the Youth March, have headquarters in Washington. Washington, D.C., remains a yet untapped source of strength in regard to Youth Marches.

3. The present moment is a timely one for beginning to shift the reins of the policy-making more and more into the hands of the youth leaders of the movement. Adult advisers should advise but not impose unnecessary restrictions on youth activities. This is the only way to encourage the initiative, creative thinking and planning of young people. Establishing a proper relationship between youth leaders and adult advisers will lend stability to the Youth March and facilitate its growth. In general, all of the adult recipients of the Youth March citations made constructive contributions to the ideology of the Youth March in their acceptance speeches. The outstanding address delivered by Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING of Montgomery could be singled out for special commendation. Dr. KING's clear and sensible analysis of the significance of the democratic struggle for the ballot in the South and his exhortation to each and every unit to "become a dedicated fighter for civil rights" will long be remembered by those in attendance. In a somewhat opposite vein, and the source of much disappointment, was the speech by Mr. A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH. The youth marchers were assembled out of concern with how to get the Federal Government to halt the crime in Alabama. Mr. RANDOLPH gave over much of his speech to some ideas about holding Communism in Africa. His vocal exercises on the subject of what he calls "Russian Communism in the Berlin Crisis," fell upon the ears of the young people assembled who were concerned with the situation where Negro ministers and labor leaders are beaten, jailed and put on the chain gang.

NY 100-80641

Perhaps Mr. RANDOLPH feels that cultivating anti-Communism among the youth is a way to curry favors from the powers that be. But the youth are not asking favors. They are asking for the Constitutional right, which is their heritage as Americans. They are seeking the President of the United States and Congress to perform the duties prescribed in their oath of office --that is, to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

This is, as I said, a draft statement. Now I would like to proceed to give you some aspects of the youth program.

Now on the subject of Party youth work and organization, you've all received copies of the report on Party youth work adopted by the NEC. There are copies available here. It is not my intention to present all of it again, rather I want to elaborate on some points and to develop more fully the main point with which the report deals, namely, the question of a youth organization. You cannot overemphasize on the importance of the youth question. The future of the Party lies with the youth. Our long delay in coming to grips with work in this field is a serious failure on our part, of which we must take due note.

As for the report, it should be clear that long overdue though it is, it is only an initial report. It undertakes to outline a policy with regard to Party youth work and youth organization. The study of the youth question should include detailed examination of the present economic and social status of the American youth -- of the thinking and attitude of young people today, all of which is missing in my particular report. The basic problems of youth in a capitalist society remain the same. There have been a number of changes of some significance since the days of the 30's and World War II. For one thing, there has been a considerable rise during these years of the proportion of youth attending school beyond the age of 16. Thus, the census figures show from 1920 to 1950 the proportion of 16 year old youths in school rose from 51 per cent to 81 per cent.

NY 100-80641

The proportion of 17 year olds rose from 35 per cent to 65 per cent, 18 year olds from 22 per cent to 40 per cent, and 19 year olds from 8 per cent to 18 per cent. These are very substantial increases and in recent years since 1950, this rise has continued. This means that the student youth comprises a much larger part of the whole than it did twenty or thirty years ago. Their problems assume correspondingly greater weight. At the same time a large part of the teen-age group today, both in and out of school, are employed or seeking to work full or part-time. In October, 1956, for example two and one-half million in the 14-17 year old age group had jobs. This comprises one-quarter of the total population of this age group. The main reason for this large group of school-age youth working is poverty. About nine and one-half million American children in 1955 came from families earning less than \$45 per week. Two and one-half million of these came from families whose cash income was only \$10.00 per week. Some 700,000 of these were employed in agriculture. A large proportion of these, along with their parents, were migrant farm workers. This economic situation has not improved within the past few years. Perhaps there are less teen-age youngsters employed today but if this is so, it is not because their need is less, but because there are less jobs. Indeed, it is the youth who have been especially hard hit by unemployment. In the 14 to 17 year old age group, the rate of unemployment in February of this year was 15 per cent, and in the 18-20 year old age group, it was 14 per cent, as against a national average of 7 per cent. As a matter of fact in the age group below 20, the rate of unemployment was considerably above the average. Here we have among other things, a whole series of persistent problems with regard to vocational guidance, job placement, assurance of employment, proper standards of employment, etc.

Among Negro workers, the rate of joblessness is rated by official figures as being double that of white persons. It would appear that unemployment among Negro youth ranges from about 30 per cent to 50 per cent. This is truly a problem of gigantic proportions. As in the thirties, problems of jobs is now beginning to come to the

NY 100-80641

fore once again. Not only among Negro youth but in the so-called stress areas, generally the problem is already a very acute one.

The effects of unemployment are more severe today. There has been a lowering of the average age of marriage and many more young adults are married people with children and with problems approximating those of their elders. Moreover, a large section of youth, who are unable to find work, are today ineligible for any form of unemployment compensation. Today's crisis has developed during a period of prosperity and, as such, it is a testimonial to the inability of American capitalism, which cannot only afford some forty million for armament but clamors for much more than that, to provide anything approximating an adequate education for youth organization.

According to Senator JAMES E. MURRAY, there is today a shortage of 140 thousand classrooms and 135 thousand teachers. This shortage is growing — not shrinking. Federal aid for education is kicked around in Congress year after year and gets nowhere. In our colleges and universities tuition fees are already at astronomical levels and continue to rise. A recent survey covering twenty colleges shows that the average yearly income of families of scholarship recipients is \$7,500 as against the national average of some \$5,000. The deterioration of our educational system has been proceeding over a period of many years. Since the advent of Sputnik, the eyes of the American people have been opened to the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet educational system. The deficiencies in the American system have become more glaring. As for the segregated educational facilities available to Negro youth, it is scarcely necessary here to dwell in detail on the gross inferiority of these, not only in the South but in the North as well. This is today a national scandal and the cause for shame for our country. It has become also, as the Youth March indicates, a focal point of mass struggle. What should be noted here, however, is that there is a general process of deterioration of our educational system. This process is most pronounced in the facilities available to Negroes.

NY 100-80641

There are other problems as well, which I will not attempt to deal with at all. The problem of juvenile delinquency is another major ill of our capitalist system. These in brief are the problems which currently face the youth of this country. The type of youth organization which exists today is chiefly a service organization, devoted to provide recreation, sports, education activity of various kind, etc. There are NAACP groups, YMCA, YWCA and others. These, as well as other major youth organizations, urgently need extensive study. The emergence of a fresh upsurge in these carries the potential of development of new mass organizations devoted to the fight for jobs and similar struggles. The Youth March represented a resurgence of a youth movement —the beginnings of a new awakening of a mass of American youth. For the past decade, there has been inactivity because of intimidation and a period of relative capitalist prosperity. There is a growing awareness and concern among wide sections of the young people. This spontaneous movement should not be left to itself, but should have the participation of the Party. This means, first of all, that the Party must fulfill its own responsibility in the field of youth movement. It must have its own program. Youth work must be considered the work of the entire Party. It cannot be relegated to the youth alone. The tendency to do this in the past has injured the work. Of particular importance is a program for jobs for youth. There is need for a movement for a National Youth Act in the CP legislative program, calling for a national youth agency of the type discussed in the 1930's. Today we believe there is a place for a Youth Act with considerably broader scope than was projected in the thirties.

Finally, I want to call attention to one of the immediate spheres of activity to which we need to give greater importance, namely, the Youth Festival being held in Vienna. This Festival has created a great interest and there are greater possibilities of a wider and more representative delegation from this country than at any time in the past. The possibility exists for the development after the Festival of a movement and activity of far reaching



NY 100-80641

consequences for world friendship and peace. Much more work is needed yet to realize these potentialities. In some areas — New York, Chicago, and California in particular, extensive activity is going on and there are already a substantial number of prospective delegates. There are many parts of the country in which little or nothing is being done at the moment to guarantee delegations. Time is getting short. There is much that can still be done. This should be given serious attention and plans should be taken to insure a minimum attendance from all areas. All of the districts have received material containing the necessary information and more is available here.

To touch on the youth organization, this has been the subject of much discussion to date in and around the Party in the past years. Since the dissolution of the LYL, the situation has been rather a chaotic one, as reported here. Today there is a combination of organizations ranging all the way from Party youth clubs, to loose non-Party groups of all kinds. Among all of these there is little or no coordination. In a number of areas such as New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles, there exists one or more Party youth clubs, the membership consists principally of young adults. The majority of districts have no specific organization or apparatus of any kind. There are numerous non-Party organizations. In Philadelphia, there is a Socialist group whose membership includes both Party and non-Party youth. In New York, an outstanding example is this Committee on Progressive Education — SCOPE — which has organized Marxist classes, chiefly among college students with more than 100 enrolled at one time. In Washington State, the LYL did not dissolve at the time of the national dissolution, but continued. However, it reoriented itself, turning its attention primarily to teen-age youths. It is presently existing as the Young Explorers League in that State. Finally, there are a great variety of teen-age groups of a non-Marxist character, although there is Marxist guidance or leadership in varying degrees. These are built around various cultural or social activities and have also engaged to some degree in political activity. The existence of these groups is an important development. One striking feature of

NY 100-80641

the situation is the intense interest in Marxist education — particularly among the students. In Chicago and a number of other places, there are classes for teen-age groups. There is a widespread demand for classes and education. A word should be said about other youth organizations. After the dissolution of the LYL, the Trotskyites initiated a Social alliance, which for a time operated under the guise of a United Socialist organization. It attracted some of the former LYL members, but these soon were disillusioned by their contact with the Trotskyites. As a result, they left these organizations.

Among the youth in and around the Party, there is a considerable divergence of opinion as to the establishment of a new youth organization. As was considered in the report itself, one section consisting of Party groups proposes the setting up of such an organization that should be carried on within the Party. An organizational apparatus based on Party youth clubs and possibly a youth division. If a national youth organization is to be formed at all, it should be broad and non-Marxist. At the other extreme is a group which advocated formation of what they term a Marxist Communist organization. Membership would be limited to those professing an interest in Marxist principles. The third section supports the formation of a Marxist organization but believes it should be much broader in character. In the opinion of the NEC, which has held extensive discussions, there is a very definite need and place for a Socialist youth organization right now. What kind of an organization should it be? On this question, the NEC has said that we cannot and should not attempt a blueprint of such an organization. It is possible to picture in broad outline what kind of organization it ought to be. It should be an organization capable of developing mass activity and of reaching out to the growing number of youth, who through their own involvement in the struggle, begin to look to progressive youth and Socialists. It should be an organization which could educate such groups with respect to the nature of Socialism and with respect to Socialist countries.

NY 100-80641

Among other things, there is the problem of legality. We should do everything possible to encourage those who seek the formation of a nation-wide Socialist youth organization. We should support those, who in seeking to form such an organization, are guided by the following principles:

1. The organization should be broad in its popular appeal and seek to establish a united cooperation in activities with other organizations of a progressive character.
2. It should be broad, flexible and democratic and should admit into its ranks both Communists and other Marxist-oriented and progressive young people who are interested in participating.
3. It should be based on solidarity and cooperation with:
  - a. All struggles of the American working class and
  - b. All struggles of the Negro people for equality and eradication of all forms of racial discrimination.
4. It should maintain friendly, cooperative relations with other organizations of the working class.
5. It should have a positive attitude toward the Socialist countries and should work for peace and friendship.
6. It should be based on solidarity and friendship with peoples throughout the world and should support all peoples' struggles for independence and liberation from imperialist domination.

NY 100-80641

There is a need for a Socialist youth organization, but it must not be narrow, for it would then be small and isolated. The history of the YCL illustrates some of the problems. The YCL was intended to be a broad organization, but in its early days it developed as a secretarian group which was unable to continue in the days of the factionalist struggles of the Party. The AYD was set up as a broad organization but later much of its basic thinking was changed and it did not long survive the war. The final organization was the LYL in 1949.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of HY LUMER (Cont'd)

LUMER proposed that a youth conference be held Memorial Day weekend to take up the question of mass activities and to hold further discussions of a youth organization. He continued that there should be a general youth conference in the Fall looking toward the establishment of a youth organization. He enumerated the following proposals:

- 1) Every effort should be made to widen the work of the Party in the youth movement.
- 2) The Party should do all it can to help youth groups and to establish a nation-wide organization.
- 3) The Party should help all committies and support all kinds of local organizations.
- 4) Teenage groups should be urged to set up some kind of coordination for youthful exchange of ideas.
- 5) The efforts should be made to establish a youth page in "The Worker".
- 6) A committee should be established to look into youth publications.
- 7) A discussion bulletin should follow the National Committee meeting.

NY 100-80641

- 8) Establish a national education department.
- 9) Set up a youth commission.
- 10) Establish a youth party directory and Party youth clubs with qualified youth cadre.

LUMER mentioned that a subcommittee of the NEC had been formed to look into the composition of a National Youth Committee. He said that the subcommittee members are WILLIAM ALBERTSON, IRVING POTASH and HY LUMER.

In reply to questions, LUMER said that it is not in the province of the National Committee to set a time limit for the formation of a youth organization. He noted that no study had been made of youth groups in other countries. He also noted that there probably would be a broad similarity between the proposed organization and the Labor Youth League, but said he was not prepared to spell out the differences. He said that there was no general opposition to the formation of such an organization, but that no national poll had been taken.

Remarks of TED BASSETT

BASSETT referred to the Youth March on Washington and said that while estimates on the number participating varied, it appeared that the account given by the Washington Police of 26,000 participants was probably correct. He mentioned that while other means of transportation were used, it was known that 419 bus loads of youth arrived in Washington.

NY 100-80641

BASSETT was critical of the speech given by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and recalled that as part of the announcement that Communists were not invited to participate it was also stated that neither were the Ku Klux Klan or the white citizens councils invited.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

DOROTHY HEALEY expressed general agreement with LUMER's report, but opposed the composition of the subcommittee stating that there should be younger people on it. She observed that a youth club had been set up in Los Angeles and took exception of the fact that the West Coast was not invited to preliminary discussions on this matter. LUMER replied that the subcommittee was merely for preliminary work and was not a permanent body.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

MEYERS spoke of the legality of a youth organization and felt that the March on Washington and similar activities served to stimulate the youth movement. MEYERS was critical of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH claiming that he hammered away at the unity of the Negro people while "kids listened eagerly."

Remarks of Individual People to be  
(FNU) MC ADOO from Detroit

Comrade LUMER has presented only one side. It is said that this group is a Fascist Group. (The speaker is here apparently referring to a group known as the "call group") It was never mentioned that this group participated in the youth march:

NY 100-80641

Let us speak briefly on the NEC report. I do not find myself in disagreement with the fundamental ideas set forth in the first part of the meeting. I do find myself in disagreement with the formulation of the six principles that a youth organization be formed. There are errors of omission in the report; what does the report mean when it says the principles of the organization should be broad;? What does it mean by flexible? Does it mean the recognition that the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries are forced from peace? Does it mean a statement of this I want to say that I cannot speak for myself as well as a number of other youths. I have to say that there have been many errors committed by this group (referring to "the call group") and to say that the group does stand corrected. We have been described as "factional" but we have not intended to carry on a factional struggle. We have also been characterized as an "ultra left faction". None of us knew this. We are not in the party to leave the party. We do not hold "vanguardist" views and any views so stated we stand corrected on. I do want to say that there are youths in Michigan who have high views of the party but will not expect an organization that does not guarantee that the IYL will not come to life again.

Remarks of Individual Believed to be FLO HALL

This individual said that 412 persons from Chicago had participated in the youth march. She said that of this number, "We" favored 25. She claimed that Chicago had brought 104,000 signatures for the petition. According to this speaker the youth commission in Chicago was important in bringing about the success of the representation from that area, and that there are two party youth groups and two teenage groups in Chicago.



NY 100-80641

In closing her remarks she stated "I favor the report and express the opinion of youth in Chicago ...".

Remarks of GUS HALL

Somebody says that Mexico is a short cut to Kansas - Don't buy it ! These are my first remarks after eight years. While I was following newspaper accounts and scattered reports I wasn't sure what would be here when I got out. The fact that you are is a truly great tribute to the indestructibility of the science of Marxism - Leninism. In spite of advances and turmoils the Party came through in the best possible shape. I also spent some time in prison thinking over the past and evaluating the past. I came to the conclusion not like GATES. His thinking was distorted.

HALL urged a stepped up national amnesty campaign for WINSTON and GREEN. He recalled the statement in JACKSON's report that "our mother party feels good because of the simple fact that the CP, USA exists," and then observed that he shared these feelings. HALL asserted the need for self-criticism in that the CP is not dealing with the thoughts of the masses but operates in an abstract sense. He noted that the CP has no long-range perspective. He concluded that the CP cannot sacrifice the cadre for immediate needs.

Remarks of HOMER CHASE

Comrades, when I received this copy of the report on youth I certainly was, as I think we all are, pleased that we are moving on this question. Certainly we are pleased that time is being given to this discussion. Now it would seem that we have to approach this problem with the position that what are the main problems, the

NY 100-80641

main immediate problems facing the youth in the party. Now you would think that we can agree that these are peace liberation of the Negro people and jobs. Then we have to ask ourselves which I think is the crux of this whole discussion. These problems can be resolved in this country without a massive Leninist youth organization. I think we have to answer in the negative. The problem will not be resolved without an organization which makes the youth organization based on the principles of the teachings of Marxism and Leninism. Now I am not going into any detail on why it is necessary to have a youth organization and why adults cannot serve as leaders for our youth organization. I would like to submit that without such an organization the leaders here will have to come from one of two sources - either from this party here of adult Communists or from non-Marxist Leninists. Obviously if we approach this question in this manner you see the difficulty that faces us unless we have a perspective.

I go along with the report that on many of their preparatory moves, conferences, etcetera - that unless we have a perspective of Marxist - Leninist youth organizations you are not going to resolve a problem of cadre. You are going to be in the position of attempting to amass these schools described as the exact path that we tried when we were young. Now I would suggest that in future documents more attention be given to the history and study of the Young Communist League. There is much to learn from the Young Communist League. There seems to be a feeling in the party that this was some kind of narrow material grouping but the fact is that the main characteristic of the Young Communist League was the breadth of the struggle that was engendered in the youth of the United States. I do not think it is so important that in time the Young Communist League attempted to get ahead of the party to criticize the party. There are far more important lessons to be drawn from the history of the Young Communist League. I am not proposing an

NY 100-80641

organization which necessarily has the name "Communist" in it, but I am not proposing an organization which is merely a junior organization of the CP. I certainly recognize that the objective situation is difficult than what it was when the Young Communist League was engaged in the great work that it did do. Nevertheless I think we have a lot to learn from them.

Somewhat briefly there is another concern. It seems to me that this document doesn't have one word about the special problem of the youth organization of the south. I think it is most important for Marxist - Leninists in the United States to consider the question of a youth organization in the south. In New England we had a youth organization up until 1956. It was dissolved. Not because of objective situations primarily, but because of the line of policy. That line was expressed to the sons and daughters of Communists in the organization and instead of taking steps to increase the membership, we had to dissolve it. The main problem we find in New England in youth work is to re-establish work in this field. In New England, as far as the youth question is concerned, the main problem has been a line. I don't want to use an overworked phrase but the problem has been no youth organization whatsoever. It's not the Leftist problem and I get the feeling from this report that the way that we come out of the special problem is again being thrown against the left danger. Actually, the main danger in this problem is not the left danger. It is those people who have to put forth the policy that has resulted in no organization whatsoever. Furthermore comrades, I am deeply concerned about the problem of winning the youth for a line. I do not think that we should adopt a line here on this youth question until we have indicated that we can win the youth. I think that there are strong indications that in many areas this hasn't been discussed sufficiently with the youth and that we haven't done enough work along that line. We haven't listened to the youth.

NY 100-80641

One of the things that concerns me in this report is that it is criticizing the April '1958 document. The comrades couldn't find one point of agreement on the youth in all of this article, yet I think we have to have that kind of approach to youth - a positive approach as we will call it. I am further concerned as I indicated in my question that we haven't sufficiently studied the experiences of parties in other lands on the youth question. As the comrades indicated they haven't even studied the youth organizations in this country. We are up to the point where we are proposing a youth organization with no democratic centralism. Well comrades, there is not a youth organization in the country without democratic centralism. This is certainly going to the extreme to put it mildly. Therefore, I would urge that Comrade LUMER table this document for the present time and come back after more study on this question and let us welcome the good work that has been done. Let us welcome the fact that it has been started.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

I would like to add two additional factors on the questions of the objective conditions, that I think HY dealt with quite well. One of them is the calculated result of the conspiracy of reaction against the democratic tradition in this country - a result that it had gained from this conspiracy. There is the result of the latest polls taken among teenagers in America which indicated to some extent at least part of the problem that we have to consider in terms of what our immediate organizational conclusions will be as far as building a Marxist - Leninist Movement among youth. Let me give some facts. More than half of our teenagers will believe this censorship of books, magazines, newspapers, radio and television is all right. More than half believe that the FBI and local police should be allowed to use wire-tapping at will - that the police should be permitted to

NY 100-80641

use the third degree - that people who refuse to testify against themselves should be forced to do so. About half of our teenagers assert that most people aren't capable of saying what is best for themselves. Fully 75% declared that obedience and respect for authority are the most important habits for children to learn. Now this of course is one part of the picture of American youth as has been regarded here already today. Contrasted to this picture, is that of the conclusion based on extensive research made by the Young Democrats of California regarding U.S. policy toward China. These are their conclusions(1) the present U.S. policy toward China is based on false assumption and ignores important political and economic factors. (2) The present policy does enjoy the support of most informed Americans. (3) The continuance of this policy is due to the efforts of a small but well financed special interest group whose chief spokesman are KNOWLAND, STYLES BRIDGES, PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ALFRED (KOEHLER?) and FRANCIS E. WALTHERS. (4) U.S. China policy is the cause of friction with important friendly nations. (5) U.S. support of CHIANG Kai-shek lowers American prestige by associating this country with corrupt dictatorship. Finally U.S. policy toward China is not in the national interest of the U.S. and should be changed. It would seem to me comrades that these are part of the factors - the two sided picture of American youth that we have to reckon with. On the one hand we have the enormous growing pressure of MC CARTHYISM in this country, and on the other the stubbornness and persistence with which our youth continued to fight for that democratic tradition that has been part of the working class and democratic struggle for this country.

After furnishing some statistics concerning the number of youth applying for scholarships etc., HEALEY said that the development of a united youth program with a fight for scholarship for working class youths was most important. She was of the opinion that fighting on this

NY 100-80641

and like issues in existing peoples organization would ultimately result in the desired development of a Marxist-Leninist youth organization.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

DAVIS expressed the opinion that the report on youth was a sound one. He said that within the framework of the report he would like to make a couple of "capsule characterizations" which he thought should be mentioned. He remarked that he felt that the National Committee at this meeting has the job of giving a certain orientation and a certain direction and of trying to recapture the initiative with respect to this question. He said that it should not drag along and wait until youth must take the initiative and thereby place the party in the position of just saying "this is right and this is wrong." He continued that the party must immediately, aggressively and boldly take the initiative on this question. According to DAVIS, LUMER's report gave the party the opportunity to do just this.

DAVIS mentioned the possibility of factionalism and said that wherever such factionalism arises among the youth it must be broken up. He said that there should be a policy of trying to win them over after we have acted under the influence of factional ideas. DAVIS agreed that there was the necessity for a youth organization and said that LUMER's report represents the best LENINIST application of the means to bring about such an organization.

DAVIS then discussed the youth march on Washington and described it as a real people's coalition made up of Negroes, trade unionists and youth organizations. He said that there were more Negro leaders and a greater Negro representation than there was of whites. He attributed the success of the march to this factor. DAVIS was also critical of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH for his speech at the gathering of youth in Washington. According to DAVIS, RANDOLPH has been a

NY 100-80641

"redbaiter" for some 34 years. He claimed that during the period that RANDOLPH was in the AF of L he used to strongly raise the question of discrimination against Negro workers but the fact remains he was a "redbaiter". DAVIS continued that the capitalist forces whom RANDOLPH represents are forces that still have the Negro people in bondage and oppression. Because of this marches are still necessary in an effort to relieve the burden of the Negro people.

Remarks of BEN DOBBS

I'm in the newspaper business and I can get away with that. Well comrades, the chief merit of Comrade LUMER's report, it seems to me, is that it represents an adequate summary of our knowledge and experience at this point. If it doesn't say more I think for one thing that it is because we don't know more. I think there is a great deal of harm in saying more than what you know, because that is when you run into trouble. When this issue was discussed at district committee meetings, the greatest fear was expressed that somebody was trying to put a blueprint over on us. At that time we didn't have HYMAN LUMER's report and I think that this report brings these fears to rest. Insofar as the policy presented here today, I think we should support that policy. While everybody in New York is saying we don't want a blueprint, nevertheless pretty soon we want to amend this and we want to amend that and the next thing you emerge with the blueprint that you didn't want at the outset.

I think we ought to take Comrade HALL's advice to heart with respect to this question - about trying to scent the move. Now we have not done the work in the recent past that cost us the experience - we haven't got the grapevine as yet to proceed with spelling out or participating in a leading way in spelling out the specific forms at this point of a National Marxist Youth organization.

NY 100-80641

In the district our theory was that what we ought to do now is everything we can to organize youth on a . . . basis. Wherever forms suggest themselves and then after maybe organizing some 100 or 200 in Northern California, and getting a little experience under our belt then we feel that we might be in a position to fruitfully participate in shaping a socialist youth organization. In this connection, the experience of the youth march was very valuable. I think a good job was done in Northern California in getting delegates to this march. As you know it costs an awful lot of money to go from San Francisco to Washington. More important in the process is that in Alameda County some 15 teenagers were brought together to participate in this activity. Now they want to organize on a permanent basis. In San Francisco some of the former LYL'ers who had drifted away were drawn back and now view things altogether differently and want to organize. I think if we follow up at least on this level we will have organized two youth groups and will have begun to develop the experience by which you would be . . . in concert with a movement of the masses.

The experiences of youth organizations in the past and the zigs and zags of the youth movement paralleled certain developments in our party. A study of what has happened in the past is important to see that our approach at this time is correct. We can then proceed to the development of a socialist youth organization on a national scale with all speed.



NY 100-80641

REMARKS OF JAMES JACKSON

JACKSON said that he thought LUMER's report was a valuable contribution, and that he felt the Party's work in the youth field will progress as a result of this report. JACKSON was of the opinion that immediately after the conference there should be a party program set up for youth. JACKSON said tat he felt the strategic organizational task of the Party was to work as skillfully and energetically as possible to stimulate into organized activities the masses of the youth. JACKSON described as some of the urgent needs of the young people the struggle against war, the struggle against segregation and the desire to live in fraternal brotherhood. He said that of primary importance is the removal of racial barriers that divided the young generation and frustrated their endeavors. He then spoke of the need of the young generation to secure their right to jobs and right to study further in school, et cetera. JACKSON then placed the question, "Who is going to rally and establish this huge broad mass organization of the young people?" He answered by saying that no one but the Communists have the perception or have at their disposal the wealth and practical means to provide this service. JACKSON continued, "Now how are we to get leadership for such a mass formation that is obviously needed?" He answered by saying that it means that we have to provide that select force of the young generation with leadership. It seems that we have to meet this need of providing a leadership for bringing into being this mass youth movement in a twofold fashion. We have to have an approach of organizing the youth. Some of the youth now in the Communist Party and under the direct influence of the Communist Party will be a specialized leadership in the responsibility to this broad youth formation. Secondly, and this is the important issue, in our discussion there will be a need and there is the urgency of bringing into being such new socialist oriented grouping of the youth who are immediate friends and associates of our present young Communists. Some of these youth now in the Communist Party would preserve a Communist function in this organization.

NY 100-80641

In a broad youth organization, young Communist Party members would function in its leadership and this would be the schooling, so to speak, for the cadre of the mass organization that is required for the whole generation.

REMARKS OF HELEN WINTER

The youth question has a special history in our country. Let us remember that two Marxist-Leninist youth organizations have been fostered in the past and have been dissolved. Now this in itself creates a negative kind of background for trying to organize a new youth organization. I think that generally speaking, the report from Comrade LUMER is a great one and that the general perspectives set forth in the report are the one that should guide us.

It is necessary for a Party-wide discussion which should involve particularly all of the Comrades who are active in previous youth organizations. We can call on their experience so that we can do what is necessary to set up a permanent youth organization, an organization which won't be dissolved again. Although I support the general line of Comrade LUMER's report, I also think that in principle the construction is not concrete. The formulations are too loose.

I think that we really should get moving as soon as possible and lead a national conference of young Communists.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM ALBERTSON

Comrades, there are possibly 9,000 members who went to Washington from New York on the youth march. I think we can say that practically every Party organization

NY 100-80641

was involved in the work of building the youth march - whether it was comrades who were working in the community to organize bus loads, whether there were Party people in mass organizations which themselves were organizing for the youth march, or whether it was comrades who were doing nothing more than soliciting signatures on a petition. The Party was in the thick of this movement and it is one of the movements, and in my opinion one of the most mass movements in the recent period, from which the Party was not isolated. Although we should say that many of these 9,000 came from sources with which the Party had (no?) contact, that nevertheless a large part of these 9,000 young people came as a result of the activities, the stimulation of the organization by the Party and its membership. I don't know exactly what the plans of the youth march leadership may be with respect to the follow up of the youth march. Nevertheless, we do know that activity is being planned and that in this situation, it is not necessary for everybody to sit back until plans have been formulated and people informed of them in order to begin a new movement for the next stage of the youth integration problem.

There were close to 30,000 young people in Washington from all over the country. It certainly would not help the new stage of the integration fight if a large part of these 30,000 young people were not organized between now and the coming events of September and October. There is no reason why the young people who came on buses or the young people who came from particular towns or localities or the young people who came from particular organizations should not be able to find among themselves the possibility of sticking together. They could organize themselves into all kinds of clubs, ordinary social clubs to clubs playing for integration or into forms for the collection of more signatures. It seems to me that this could be done

NY 100-80641

just as some of the comrades in New York and ..... have worked to set up an organization called the Committee to Combat Prejudices. If these youth would stick together we would see in this city, not to speak of the country, hundreds of small but meaningfully large struggles for Negro rights and especially for the rights of Negro youth.

This reminds me of the CIO organizers when people were not too much worried and correctly so about what was going on on top. The top was moving to organize the other organs. They were giving the lead to organize the other organizations. Down below there were many Communists, including people who hadn't seen the inside of a shop for years, who became the organizers for the local unions and became leaders.

I agree with some of the things that DOROTHY (HEALY) said of the struggle which the youth have to achieve and I agree with JIM (JACKSON) for instance on the need for building a rock formation of the young generation, but it is my opinion from the little knowledge I have that it is almost impossible an achievement without a block of Communists and other socialist minded youth who are not yet ready to be Communists. For all the reasons indicated in LUMER's report, together with what I have said I think it is necessary that we set up an advanced organization of a group which one might say is dedicated to certain fine objectives or principles. I think this organization has got to be dedicated to bringing Marxian socialist ideas to non Party youth. I think that is an extremely important thing to do while the Party and those in alliance with the Party are working to set up this broad democratic movement which is so much needed at this time. I think that this organization must be

NY 100-80641

dedicated to the task of participating in the struggle for the everyday needs of the youth. I think this organization has to educate its own members in the science of Marx and Lenin. I think it has to sit up because it is a youth organization and not an adult organization all kinds or forms of organizations which are attracted to youth.

Lastly I want to welcome personally the remarks made by Comrade MC ADOO because these remarks showed a recognition of the fact that the Party has over the past number of months been self critical of the fact that its leadership at that time was responsible for the liquidation of the YCL and of the LYL itself. I must say, however, on the question of factionalism that when certain things are done no matter who does them we cannot have a different name for it when one person does it and a different name for it when someone else does it. It has one meaning whether a young comrade does this thing or an adult comrade does this thing - if it be factionalism we have to say that it is factionalism so that Comrade MC ADOO who has only been here a month or perhaps two months does not know the history of the situation. The establishment of a group which met by themselves without the Party and made decisions as to what would take place within the Party followed by the organization of a conference to set up a Marxist youth organization without the participation of the Party leadership in the preparation of such an event can only be characterized as factional methods of work. But in characterizing it as such, I want to reiterate that a number of these comrades, not all of them, by now have dropped these methods of work during the past number of weeks. Let's say since the conference on April 4 which did not set up the youth organization,

NY 100-80641

a number are working much more closely with the Party and a number have learned that things cannot be done without the Party. As a result I believe we are establishing the basis on which these comrades as Party members together with the Party leadership will be in a position to have a united struggle for the establishment of a kind of youth organization in New York that the Party says is required by the situation.

REMARKS OF BERT NELSON

To be as brief as possible, I support the report read here by Comrade LUMER, not because it imposes a name without flaw and is perfection, but because it travels soundly in the direction of meeting the needs of American youth as we collectively see and understand - the viewpoint that widely is supported by our experiences with the young political explorers of Washington, an organization that came into being as a result of the dissolution of the LYL. With respect to this group in Washington, we found that there were within this group a certain small number who probably belonged with the Party.

NELSON continued with a discussion of the youth group in Washington and then made reference to the factional role of AL LANNON among the youth on the West Coast. He noted that LANNON is writing letters and making telephone calls. In conclusion, NELSON asked that the ideas of the youth of Washington be solicited in the event a national youth conference is held. He pointed out that the youth from this state may not be able to attend such a conference for financial reasons.

NY 100-80641

REMARKS OF TOM NABRIED

In Pennsylvania we have a youth club. This youth club over the last year has just about doubled its membership. It is working and has been a major force in helping to mobilize the youth march. Were it not for the work that was carried out by our young comrades on the March in Philadelphia, it would have fallen far short. It has successfully continued to work from one margin into the other and there is now the prospect of going out and getting thousands of subscriptions. I agree with ALBERTSON that we should go back to the various districts and utilize those people who participated in the youth march in order to force them out of obscurity. I would like to say in closing that in our district we hope to continue to strengthen and build the March and in the process of building the March, to strengthen and build the Party.

REMARKS OF ARNOLD JOHNSON

Let us discuss fully the true meaning of the march. I submit for all of us the very fact that 26,000 youth went to Washington is something significant in American history. We have to raise our sights as to the character of the march. There is the question of what organizational form may come out of it. Throughout the country discussions are going on among youth and youth organizations concerning the recognition of China and the solution of the Berlin problem. If we are going to make a contribution, a full contribution toward the struggle for peace there is a requirement of an approach toward a youth organization.

NY 100-80641

REMARKS OF MICKEY LIMA

Go west young man you can have more than five minutes. In various ways here it has been pointed out that youth as a group has special characteristics. I would like to go into that as soon as I can in five minutes. Now this is true of youth not only here in America, but youth in the Soviet Union and everywhere in the world. What are these special characteristics? First of all, they lack experience and certainly this is true of youth everywhere and has a lot of significance and a lot of importance and particularly on this question of mistakes. Mistakes made by youth have a different quality than mistakes made by older people. We must be much more tolerant of their mistakes and must view them differently. We have to be very careful of how we treat ideas of youth. All too often youth who enter any organization, including our own, who very hesitantly put forth their first idea are sometimes jumped on in a way that it takes them five years before they ever express themselves again. But likewise this lack of experience has its negative qualities. Youth are much more apt to go off on tangents. I think that if we want to take an extreme, it is a recognized fact that of the people who were misled in the Hungarian revolt a very large section of them were youth. I think there is a reason for it. In addition to the lack of experience a special feature of youth is their tremendous enthusiasm and invincibility. I think we all will admit that as we get older we lose a bit of that. Yet youth everywhere has this special quality and it is a wonderful thing they can and will be harnessed in this youth organization that we are establishing.

One mistake which has often been made is the exploitation of youth in treating them as somebody to go out and do all the dirty work such as handing out



NY 100-80641

leaflets and so on. I know I can cite some youth who were permanently antagonized by the progressive movement because of the way their parents and certain others misused their enthusiasm and willingness. On the positive side, of course, the youth march to Washington is a good demonstration of what happens when this tremendous enthusiasm of a few is mobilized. Another special feature of youth is that their minds are much more open to ideas. Despite all the Mc Carthyism and everythingelse, the majority of the youth will lend an ear to almost anything, whether it is beatnick, yoga or Marxism-Leninism, they want to hear about it and discuss it. This is a great and valuable thing. Consequently, ideas or the discussion of ideas assume importance in the youth organization. I happened to come up through a brief membership in the AYD. I hesitate to mention it because it was labeled as revisionist, but I know and I recall it was this tremendous interest in the discussion of ideas.

I for one would be very concerned with helping any youth organization. We give them the advice they want and help them in every way they want, but we should be careful not to take too much initiative in telling them what to do.

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NY 100-80641

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Comrades, to divert a little bit, I was really inspired by the speech that was made here by GUS (HALL), but I think all good things have another side. I'm inclined to think that based on the discussion, we not only get punch drunk, but we lost the ability to dream dreams any more. We get to a point where we just go along with that one line. Here we sit, a national committee, two weeks after a very historical event trying to "fix out" with young people in Washington. Gentlemen, I didn't think there has been such a movement even in the days of the '30s. The biggest movement I remember in those days was the Bonus March. At that time, some 20 or 25,000 gents went to Washington. Here we sit two weeks after the event (corrected from the audience to one week) and we don't have the time to make the proper judgement concerning this particular experience.

Now let us not talk about this as a movement. It is not a movement yet Comrades. It has no cohesion yet and in order to continue it has to have some cohesion. With the experience they gained from it, are they going to wait to the next march? I don't think so. I think without getting out of contact with the locomotive that brought the 26,000 together, we can find the lines on a local level to give it more cohesion and this is not in a sectarian manner. School integration is not only their problem, but it is also ours. Every city has the school integration problem. It would appear to me that on the basis of the very program for which the youth went to Washington, it would be possible on the local level to take local aspects of the question of school integration and hold this movement together and enlarge upon it.

There has been quite a bit of discussion and agitation going on in Washington in connection with how schools integrated in Chicago, but it has been in a discussion state. If the affairs which went to Washington can be held together on the basis of a continuation of a local struggle, the possibility is there for 50,000 to

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(2)

NY 100-80641

participate in a march one year from now. So I want to emphasize one point and that is in every locality, we could fill with thought not to take the movement, not to regiment it, but to let its own "naturalness" define its form to make it live.

On the basis of a decision of the District Board of Illinois, I went to a leading trade unionist and found that some of our people had told him about it (apparently the Youth March). He said you are dreaming. I got to run into this fellow a few weeks ago and I asked him about those dreams and we talked about it. The point that I'm trying to make is that we are paralyzed from the period in which left initiative rebuffed so often the sectarian efforts that we don't seem to be able to take left initiative anymore under the new conditions.

Remarks of HY LUMER

I appreciate very much the discussion here today. I think it has been a very useful one. I have a feeling that we are getting off the ground and getting somewhere. I have only a few points I want to raise very briefly. In connection with the discussion on this subject, I think one point that GUS (HALL) made in his remarks is worth expressing and that is our isolation from the "working" class. This is true with regard to our youth work. The bulk of the job is yet to be done and I think, therefore, that one of the main tasks that we must set ourselves in youth work is this process of getting into the mass movement with both feet.

Secondly, the question of self-criticism must be raised at a number of points of the discussion. I think that this is important and that the Party should be sharply self-critical about its failure to act on this question after such a long period. Several of the Comrades have spoken about the formulations with regard to the principles for a youth organization as they were stated in the report.

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(3)

NY 100-80641

I think we shall understand that what we are attempting to do here is not to spell out the complete structure and character of an organization, but we are attempting to point a direction. Actually, a real honest to goodness youth organization will not come into existence by any cry or declaration from us. It will come into existence through a process of work and struggle.

In the course of setting up local organizations and in the course of participation in mass activity, we will be able to spell out much more clearly what the nature of such an organization should be. There has been some criticism, but no offer of a more precise approach to the formation of a youth organization. So I think that we should understand that we are projecting a direction. We should have some idea in which direction we want to go.

There has been some discussion of factionalism. In anything I said, I didn't mean to imply that what we are dealing with here is a group of highly organized labor factionalists. (That is not) true. I think that what we are dealing with here is not organized factionalism, but that on the whole, the youth are honest and sincere.

I do think it is very unfortunate that the Youth March did not get the attention that it deserves. Our original idea was that there were to be two separate discussions. Unfortunately, due to some unanticipated things, this fell through. There are not only many very valuable lessons to be learned from the experience of the March, but there are many important tasks to do. I think it is true that when we speak about the outlook for mass activities, this is where it is beginning to make its undeveloped approach. The statement on the Youth March will be issued as a statement for the guidance of the Party's membership. It will be published in the press after suitable revision, editing, etc., and will be presented as such for approval.

Other than this, I should like to present for action by the committee the proposals that were made in my report. I don't know how you want to act on them, but here they are.

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NY 100-80641

Vote on LUMER's Report

A motion was made to adopt the statement and report given by LUMER and a vote was taken. Although the vote was not announced, it appeared that the report was unanimously adopted with one abstention.

Remarks of GUS HALL

HALL announced that the next order of business was to be a short information report from the Trade Union Commission on "steel."

Remarks of IRVING POTASH

The Trade Union Commission spent an evening discussing the situation in steel. The entire Party leadership must place before the membership the task and responsibility to do everything in our power to help the steel workers emerge victorious from the present conflict with the steel corporations and their allies. The Commission recommends that for the coming months, our Party shall consider the full concept of the major concentration of our effort and will develop a number of measures for the productive fulfillment of our tasks and responsibilities. The Commission took note of the following fact of the situation. Recent developments have made us feel that while we predict a strike, the outcome may well set the economic pattern and political climate for the entire trade union movement.

NY 100-80641

Remarks of IRVING FOTASH (cont'd)

Whether or not the monopolists of reaction will be on the attack in the coming month may well be determined by whether or not the steel corporations have their way in this situation. The special and in many ways unprecedented mobilization by the steel corporations and the Government is being beamed directly against the steel workers at the present time. To begin with, last month there was a conference of President EISENHOWER in which he went out of his way to make a declaration which everybody interpreted as an attack on the steel workers. The "New York Times" characterized the President's declaration as one that came closest to being an order more than any declaration he has made in his 6½ years as Chief Executive. There followed a barrage of propaganda over every medium of communication, the theme of which was that wages are the cause of high prices of steel. As part of this propaganda the claim has been made that a steel strike would be a great hazard to a free society.

Columbia University opened its forums for free lectures by the Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation repeating the false and arrogant propaganda against steel workers. The Labor Department in its federal report falsified the facts about productivity in steel in general. (J. EDGAR) HOOVER of the FBI came forward with his declaration that Moscow gave orders to infiltrate steel. Senator (STYLES) BRIDGES took the floor in the Senate to make a special speech on steel in which he embodied an editorial which constituted a vicious attack on the steel workers. RAYMOND SONYAR (phonetic), Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, in a special letter to the Senate placed the major blame for inflation on the excessive wage increases in the steel industry.

There is definitely open connivance between the steel corporations and the Government to defeat the steel workers with or without a strike. It should be noted that neither the

NY 100-80641

steel workers union nor the rest of the trade union movement have adopted adequate measures to meet this concerted attack against the steel workers. (DAVID) McDONALD has become a slave to the crudest sort of class collaboration in the labor movement and there is no doubt that the bulk of the steel workers have no confidence in their top leadership, which so far has kept the membership completely in the dark on many things. At the same time, however, the companies are feverishly rushing production and piling up a huge stockpile.

As against the negative factors enumerated above, one must also recognize that there can be no doubt about the deep and widespread "incontent" among the steel workers. Time and again the steel workers have demonstrated they must fight as they have done in five industry-wide strikes since 1936. There is a big reservoir of left and progressive workers in the steel industry. Coupled with this there is the fact that the steel industry is almost completely organized and the fact that today labor generally possesses the biggest trade union movement in American history.

The steel workers must be encouraged to participate and stress their wishes and needs with regard to demands and strive to bring about the maximum pressure for these demands. The steel workers must be alerted, united, and mobilized in the plants and local unions to reaffirm and emphasize support of these demands for shorter hours and other benefits. Every effort must be made to unite all groups and causes on a program of constructive action for the workers' demands. There should be the utmost cooperation with union officials on all levels, especially on local levels where they work for the interests of the worker and to advance constructive criticism where they do not do so. Immediate attention must be given to the problems of the Negro, the workers, the unemployed, and any other workers.

Local initiative for FEPC for a breakthrough should be encouraged, especially where progressives are reported to be

NY 100-80641

strong. Steps by local unions should be encouraged to bring pressure to bear upon federal, state, and municipal government officials in this regard. Old and young, left and progressive steel workers must be brought into play for the above-enumerated prerequisites for a steel workers victory.

What about the role of the Party? It is our opinion that the Party must strive to make a special contribution for the victory of the steel workers. In our course we must have a realistic chance to make up our forces in steel. We have very few forces in steel. However, in many ways this is a situation which could be enhanced even for those few forces that we have in steel. It can show our Party just how we work in the situations that confront the steel worker and the working class in general. We must strive to make every member and every sympathizer active in the plants and in the union. We should canvass the old timers--many old timers that used to be around in the Party or around the progressive movement--canvass them and bring them back to work for us. "The Worker" must carry more news and articles dealing with the steel situation. An intense effort must be made by Party organizations to furnish "The Worker" with this news. Consideration should be given to issuing another statement to the steel workers by the Party and also a pamphlet. This should be undertaken by the NEC. Our membership should strive to get expressions of solidarity by resolutions, pledges, messages to shops, unions, and other organizations where our members work. Such unions as the United Auto Workers, the Packing House Union, and others can help the issue of solidarity to move prior to the deadline. The Teamsters Union must not remain the only one getting forward with a solidarity pledge to the steel workers. The independent unions can also make an important contribution in this regard. It seems to me also that the Mine Engineer Workers Union must set aside the hostilities that exist and that have existed as a result of the raidings. As a matter of fact, the best way to stop raiding in the future would be for the Mine Mill Union to come forward with a militant campaign of solidarity for the steel workers.



NY 100-80641

Solidarity is the militant fighting tradition of American labor. It now lies dormant and we must be the ones to reawaken and revive it. We must do it in the present steel fight and we must make up for our failure in this regard in the heroic struggle of the textile workers and the miners in Henderson, North Carolina, and Kentucky. Even there it isn't too late to carry on solidarity. In any case the steel workers must feel that our Party, its members and friends are back where we used to be in the thirties.

Remarks of GUS HALL

Following POTASH'S report HALL noted that there was a motion to accept the report.

Remarks of SI GERSON

Before a vote could be taken on the motion GERSON interrupted and said that he thought the Party had an additional responsibility to say something which had not been proposed by POTASH. GERSON said that he would go beyond the question of economic demands and would say something in line with the anti-monopoly condition of the country. He said that he would place the emphasis squarely on monopoly capital, indicating clearly that it is passing over the economic demands of the workers.

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

MEYERS took exception to what POTASH had said concerning DAVID McDONALD. With respect to McDONALD, MEYERS stated, "I just want to call attention to the fact that if there is any person in the United States in the labor movement who has done more personally in a practical way in exposing monopoly capital, I'd like to see how many there are outside of him (DAVID McDONALD) . . ."

NY 100-80641

Vote on POTASH's Report

There was no further discussion on the steel report and a vote was taken with the report being unanimously adopted.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS spoke favorably of GUS HALL, describing his soundness and perception as one of the high points of the meeting. He continued that the views HALL expressed came as no surprise to the members of the NEC. He then observed that the NEC had hired GUS HALL for this session and was now unanimously recommending that he be elected as a member of the NEC. A vote was taken and HALL was elected to the NEC. DENNIS then continued that the NEC, anticipating the action taken by the NC in approving HALL, had unanimously decided that HALL should be elected as one of the secretaries of the NC. DENNIS said that coinciding with the urgent needs of the Party they proposed in the coming period that HALL shall be the secretary of the Midwest Regional Committee working together with the NEC and all the officers of the Party on all questions and problems.

Before the meeting concluded DENNIS said that he had one or two observations to make. He said that in leaving this meeting "we" are deeply cognizant of our responsibilities not only over a long period commencing from this day on, but of the reports and the decisions taken. He then spoke of the "democratic upsurge" among the youth and said that he thought there was a definite appreciation of the responsibilities of the Party as outlined in Comrade LUMER's report.

DENNIS then spoke of the "forced departure" of Comrade BOB (THOMPSON) and remarked that the things the Party was called upon to do now weigh heavily upon "us." DENNIS noted that the Berlin crisis, the Middle East and various other international problems had not been discussed at this meeting, although previously discussed. He said that the Party must be

NY 100-80641

aware of its responsibility and of what it can do to spark and influence the movement for ending military occupation in Berlin and calling a halt to the atomic rearming of West Germany. He also felt that the Party should do what it could to help guarantee a conference at the summit.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

DATE: 5/19/59

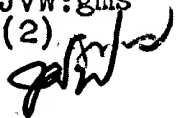
FROM : SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

SUBJECT: PHILIP BART  
IS - CIdentity of Informant: NY 2010-S\* (Conceal and  
paraphrase)Reliability: Who has furnished reliable  
information in the past

Date: 5/12/59

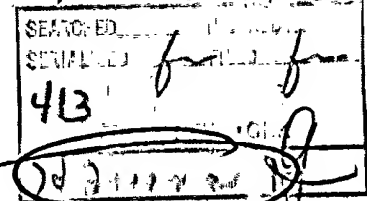
NY 2010-S\* has reported that on 5/12/59, Mr. SILVERMAN of the U.S. Treasury Dept. would like to visit PHIL BART on (5/13/59) at 1:30 PM at BART's office. BART said it would be okay with him. BART asked what the treasury dept. was interested in and SILVERMAN said that they were interested in the Accounting Service that does BART's accounting. They are interested in the years 1955, 1956 and 1957.

1 New York (100-74560) (CP, USA-FUNDS) (415)  
① New York (100-56579) (415)

JVW:gms  
(2)

100-56579-3365

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
413	
MAY 21 1959	



OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579) (422) DATE: 5/15/59  
FROM: SA [REDACTED] b6  
b7C  
SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
IS-C

On 4/26/59, CG 5824-S\* advised SA JOHN A. KEATING that a meeting of the National Committee of CPUSA was held at Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Avenue, NYC on 4/25, 26/59.

Adelphi Hall consists of 8th floor through the 11th floor of the building located at 74 5th Avenue, NYC. The first eight floor are occupied by other business establishments.

The above captioned individual was observed entering and/or leaving building 74 5th Avenue, NYC on date indicated.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>OBSERVED BY SAS</u>
4/25/59	[REDACTED]
4/26/59	HAROLD P. QUINN WILLIAM J. BARRON

b6  
b7C

Original log located 100-4931-Sub O.

FJM:gms  
(1) gmd

41

100-56579-3366

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
4/13/59	
FBI - NEW YORK	
H. Quinn	

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-74560)(415)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, FUNDS  
IS - C

DATE: 5/20/59

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of information herein inasmuch as said information, by its nature, tends to identify NY 694-S, a valuable informant, as the source thereof.

On 5/19/59, NY 694-S\* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that on 5/18/59 the CP, USA, Finance Committee (Reserve Fund) held a meeting at the Labor Research Library, 799 Broadway, NYC. Committee members present were ISADORE WOFSY, LEM HARRIS and JACK CHILDS. PHIL BART, newly appdnted CP, USA, Organizational Secretary, also attended the meeting.

WOFSY informed the meeting that except for the cash value of \$3500 in bonds held by JACK CHILDS as a depository, the funds available to the Finance Committee are completely depleted.

2 - Bureau (100-3-63)(RM)  
1 - Newark (100- ) (CP, USA, Funds)(Info)(RM)  
1 - Philadelphia (100- ) (CP, USA, Funds)(Info)(RM)  
1 - San Francisco (100-2247)(GRACE MC DONALD)(Info)(RM)  
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(415)  
1 - NY 100-128314 (CP, USA, NYD, Funds)(416)  
1 - NY 100-23681 (Farm Research Bureau)(413)  
1 - NY 100-66938 (CHARLES "BOB" COE)(422)  
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART)(422)  
1 - NY 100-19679 (ISADORE WOFSY)(415)  
1 - NY 100-64061 (JACK CHILDS)(415)  
1 - NY 100-7658 (LEM HARRIS)(415)  
1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(416)  
1 - NY 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-14419 (FRED FIELD)(412)  
1 - NY 100-70303 (12th -13th St. Realty Corp.)(41)  
1 - NY 100-64424 (CHARLES KELNER)(424)  
1 - NY 100-74560 (415)

ACB:mfd  
(19)

100-56579-3367

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 20 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Hal Quinn*

NY 100-74560

BART stated he had had no idea that the Reserve Fund was depleted, and expressed alarm about the generally poor financial situation of the CP. He said that the National Office was receiving very little income, the current fund drive having produced "practically nothing." To date, he said, \$500.00 was received from the New Jersey Party, and \$800.00 from the Philadelphia CP, as contributions to the Fund Drive. New York State CP, being involved in a dispute with the National Office concerning the percentage of Fund Drive receipts to be given to the N.O., has sent in no money as yet.

BART has conferred with BILL ALBERTSON of the New York State Party concerning this matter, and ALBERTSON insists that the amount of "the split" be in accordance with an agreement made with ROBERT THOMPSON: one third to the NY State CP, one third to the County in which funds are raised, and one third to the National Office. BART will not agree to this arrangement. He said, "It looks like another fight with NY State." BART stated that he requested ALBERTSON to return to the CP, USA, Finance Committee a list of donors which THOMPSON had made available to the NY State CP, and that ALBERTSON had arbitrarily refused to return the list.

WOFSY urged BART to try to make some suitable financial arrangements with the New York State CP. BART stated that a serious stumbling block is the New York State CP contention that it now subsidizes the "Farm Research Bureau", operated by CHARLES "BOB" COE, to the extent of \$10,000.00 per year. Since the subsidization of the Farm Research Bureau was formerly the obligation of the National Office, the NY State CP insists upon considering this \$10,000.00 as an offset against any money the New York State CP owes the National Office.

At the suggestion of WOFSY, it was agreed that LEM HARRIS should contact FRED FIELD in Mexico and GRACE MC DONALD on the West Coast in an effort to reactivate them as donors.

In view of the dire financial situation of the Finance Committee, it was agreed that the building at 35 East 12th Street should be sold as soon as possible. WOFSY stated that CHARLES KELNER, manager of the building "suddenly decided he wanted to purchase the building for himself."

NY 100-74560

WOFSY and the others at the meeting expressed the opinion that KELNER either was attempting to get the building for nothing, or was making an empty offer with a view to delaying the sale of the building. LEM HARRIS was instructed to inform the stockholders of the building of KELNER's strategy, and to advise them to expedite the sale of the building to the individual, who, according to WOFSY, offered \$235,000.00 for it.

The meeting was adjourned at this point, no date for a subsequent meeting being set.



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

5/20/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

On 5/8/59, NY 2360-S\*, advised there was a discussion between WILLIAM ALBERTSON and PHIL BART in CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date.

During the discussion, BART proposed a working committee be set up by the NEC to formalize draft documents for the NC. He commented, "Have the committees designated by the NC be guided by the introductory drafts... the second week in June there will be a full NEC to pass on the documents...." ALBERTSON said the committees should have the drafts ready for the NC. BART agreed and remarked, "Yes: - then have another full NEC in the second half of July.....they shall prepare rough outlines of their work for the NEC... draft resolutions in two weeks....have all these preparations ready for the N.C...."

The discussion then turned to the Party's constitution and ALBERTSON, apparently referring to its content, said, "We have to say something about the nature of Democratic Centralism and the kind of a Party we are..." BART then remarked that the majority who remained in the Party and adopted this constitution, did not do it on the basis of revisionism. He went on to say that "factionalism is something our Party has broken with and has forgotten for all time to come." ALBERTSON commented "...because when we put in our constitution the right to dissent, that means we never had it before, we don't want that... but the Comrades must realize that that is where there will be the big break...." BART countered, "....there's a big danger, after making a break with this constitution, that we're not making a break with the Democratic processes...."

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)  
① - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1 - New York (100-80641)

JAC:mbw  
(5)

100-56579-3368

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 20 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. J. Quinn

NY 100- 80641

ALBERTSON then said, ".... We're a revolutionist Party and therefore we're different. We must have a basis for unity, as otherwise we have only a debating society.....you remember CARL's (WINTER?) discussion - let's forget the 16th Convention..... I told GENE (DENNIS) that you can do that with everything but....what you are doing is revising the constitution and you must have a reason for doing it....if you make a report which deals with this constitution....you would discuss why we have a constitution....Lenin's concept of a Party is that it should be a revolutionary Party...."

FBI

Date: 5/21/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL RM  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

CINAL

On 5/19/59, NY 2359-S\* advised that on this date the regularly scheduled resident NEC, CPUSA meeting was held in the 3rd floor board room, CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., NYC. EUGENE DENNIS acted as chairman and in attendance were: IRVING POTASH, JACK STACHEL, HY LUMER, ELIZABETH FLYNN, ARNOLD JOHNSON, PHIL BART, JAMES JACKSON and [REDACTED] ✓

3- Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)  
1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)  
1- New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)  
1- New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
1- New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)  
1- New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)  
1- New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)  
1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1- New York (100-91330) [REDACTED] (415)  
1- New York (100-16785) (JAMES E. JACKSON) (415)  
1- New York (100-81675) (CP, USA-PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS) (415)  
1- New York (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (415)  
1- New York (100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (415)  
1- New York (100-80641) (415)

b6  
b7C

HCO:gms  
(17)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_

100-56579-3369

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 21 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*L.P. Quinn*

NY 100-80641

DENNIS suggested that instead of having the NC meeting on 7/18 and 19, the NC be held on 7/25 and 26/59. Informant noted that no objections were raised. DENNIS then stated that the main topic of discussion was the questions raised about JIM's (JACKSON) review of the KING (MARTIN LUTHER) book. JAMES JACKSON suggested a postponement of discussion in view of the absence of BEN (DAVIS).

IRVING POTASH then made reference to "letters" that were sent to a number of the members of the NEC. The informant was not able to identify the contents of these letters as the security of the blackboard was utilized throughout this discussion by both POTASH and DENNIS.

HY LUMER then spoke concerning the 40th Anniversary of the Party and made the following proposals:

1) The preparation of material in relation to the history of the Party.

2) That a mass pamphlet on the Party be issued in connection with the anniversary and that this pamphlet be of a popular character having illustrations where necessary.

It was proposed that LUMER, ELIZABETH (FLYNN) and BETTY (possibly GANNETT) set up a Committee to undertake the preparation of this pamphlet.

3) That the September issue of PA be devoted to the 40th Anniversary and a special editorial be prepared.

4) The preparation of a special anniversary spread for the "Worker".

5) The organization of a series of anniversary meetings in major cities to be billed as large mass meetings.

ARNOLD JOHNSON suggested that the Party utilize that occasion to bring together as many people as possible and utilize to the best possible advantage everyone in the National leadership.

NY 100-80641

PHIL BART stated that this anniversary celebration should highlight what the Party had accomplished over the years. He said they should approach people that can be attracted to our Party again. He said once the Party begins to open minds than they could begin to open action.

EUGENE DENNIS stated that there should be 2 or 3 celebrations, well organized and closely followed by the National Office. He said these celebrations should highlight the past and present work of the Party, and be something people will remember for years and years. DENNIS proposed that the matter be referred to the Committee for completion.

JACK STACHEL reported that the party held for WILLIAM WEINSTONE last Friday evening was very successful. He stated people attended who we have not seen for a long time.

According to informant, EUGENE DENNIS proposed that in the future the Comrades submit questions to be taken up at NEC meetings in advance and an agenda will be prepared and distributed. In this way the Comrades will be better prepared for discussion.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284)

5/20/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

PHILIP SAKT  
IS-C  
SA-40

ReBulet, 5/12/59.

Enclosed with this letter are 2 copies of a front and full face photograph of the subject taken in 1955.

Recent observation of the subject reflects that this photograph is an excellent likeness of the subject.

2-Bureau (100-3284) (Encl.2) (RM)  
①-New York (100-56579) (415)

HPQ:plrp  
(3)

100-56579-3370 *Blm*

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

5/25/59

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Chicago airtel dated May 20, 1959.

CG 5824-S\*, on May 21, 1959, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING, for photostating, a mimeographed letter, dated May 20, 1959. This letter is addressed "To the Members of the N.E.C.", and is signed "Phil Bart, National Org. Secy." This letter contains the agenda for the meeting of the National Executive Committee scheduled for June 9 and 10, 1959.

One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the New York Division. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-33741-1B3 (85).

2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)  
2 - New York (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)  
2 - Chicago  
    (1 - A/134-46)

JEK/kw  
(6)

100-56579-3371  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
MAY 26 1959  
FBI - NEW YORK  
H. P. Quinn

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

5/25/59

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Chicago airtel dated May 20, 1959.

CG 5824-S\*, on May 21, 1959, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING, for photostating, a mimeographed letter dated May 20, 1959. This letter is addressed "To the Members of the National Committee", and is signed "Phil Bart, National Org. Secy." The letter contains the agenda for the meeting of the National Committee scheduled for July 25-26, 1959.

One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the New York Division. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-33741-1B3 (84).

- 2- Bureau (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-30641) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)

JEX/kw  
(6)

100-56579-3372  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
MAY 26 1959  
FBI - NEW YORK  
H. P. Quinn



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-56779)

DATE: 5/22/59

FROM : SA JOSEPH F. NALLY

SUBJECT: PHIL BART,  
IS - C

In connection with an investigation conducted under the above caption, the following surveillances were conducted on the subject, his wife, CONSTANCE BART, his sister, DOROTHY LEVIN, and his brother-in-law, AARON LEVIN, from the residence at 2415 Newkirk Ave., Brooklyn, NY.

On 5/1 and 4/59, PHIL BART was observed by SAs RICHARD A. DONOVAN and JOSEPH F. NALLY departing the above residence between the hours of 9:00 and 10:00 a.m.

On 5/5, 6 and 13/59, PHIL BART was observed by SA RICHARD A. DONOVAN leaving his residence between 8:30 and 9:00 a.m.

On 5/1, 4-8 and 11-13/59, CONSTANCE BART was observed leaving the above residence between the hours of 7:40 and 7:55 a.m. by SAs DONOVAN and NALLY.

On 5/1, 4-8, 12 and 13/59, AARON LEVIN was observed leaving the above residence by SAs DONOVAN and NALLY. On 5/11/59, AARON LEVIN was surveilled by SAs NALLY and DONOVAN to the New York Housing Project located at East New York Ave. and Rockaway Ave., Brooklyn, NY.

The following surveillances were conducted on DOROTHY LEVIN by the Agents and on the dates indicated.

5/1 and 4/59, SAs RICHARD A. DONOVAN and JOSEPH F. NALLY; not observed.

5/5/59, SA JOSEPH F. NALLY to NY State Department of Labor, Division of Employment, 168 Montague St., Brooklyn; NY. Then to Brooklyn Charities, 235 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, NY.

④ New York

1- 100-56779

1- 100-12959 (CONNIE BART) (416)

1- 100-114456 (AARON LEVIN) (422)

1- 100-129181 (DOROTHY LEVIN) (422)

JFN:ech  
(4)

100-56779-3373

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 22 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-56579

5/6/59, SAs JOSEPH F. NALLY and THOMAS CONLON  
to Brooklyn Charities, 285 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn,  
NY.

5/7-8 and 12/59, SAs JOSEPH F. NALLY and  
RICHARD A. CONOVAN to Brooklyn Charities, 285 Schermerhorn  
St., Brooklyn, NY.

5/13/59, SAs JOSEPH F. NALLY and THOMAS  
CONLON to Brooklyn Charities, 285 Schermerhorn St.,  
Brooklyn, NY.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

DATE: 5/25/59

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S\*, on May 21, 1959, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING, for photostating, a two-page, mimeographed letter dated May 20, 1959, addressed "To all National Committee Members", and signed "Phil Bart, National Org. Secy." This letter contains a resume of the National Executive Committee meeting held Tuesday, May 11, 1959.

One photostat copy of this item is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the New York Division. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-33741-1B3 (86).

The letter states that at the National Executive Committee meeting held on May 11, 1959, JAMES JACKSON gave a report on his trip to the West coast. BEN DAVIS dealt briefly with the press reports of a statement by Mr. WILLIAMS, of the National

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)
- ⑨ - New York (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Cominfil - NAACP)
  - ✓ (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
  - (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
  - (1 - 100-105078) (HY LUMER)
- 2 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-31723) (CP-USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Funds)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)

JEK/kw  
(15)

100 - 56579 - 3374

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 27 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. L. Quinn

nm

CG 100-33741

Association for the Advancement of Colored People in North Carolina. In this regard, the letter states in part:

"We do not condone any policy of violence and stand opposed to it."

Also at the National Executive Committee meeting of May 11, 1959, PHIL BART reported on the Party Constitution, and HY LUMER reported on a report of the National Executive Committee to be prepared for the Convention. The letter also states:

"Comrade Dennis reported on his visit to Philadelphia, where he spoke at a banquet, at which one-third of their press goal of \$2500. was raised. He also attended a meeting of the District Committee.

"Comrade Elizabeth reported on a trip to Boston and an affair which she attended there."

SAC, CHICAGO (100- )

5/27/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-19249)

JACK CLING  
IS-C

On 5/9/59, NY 1637-S\* furnished photographs of information in the possession of PHILIP and CONNIE BART at their residence 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, NY, Apt. 4G. The original negatives of these photographs have been made an exhibit in PHILIP BART'S NY file.

Among the information furnished by this source were photographs of a number of letters which are described as follows:

1. A typewritten letter without a date to PHIL BART from "Morris" (CHILDS).
2. A typewritten letter dated October 14, 1958, to the American Red Cross from SUE CLING.
3. A typewritten letter from the American Red Cross, Brooklyn Chapter, to SUE CLING, dated October 7, 1958, requesting Mrs. CLING'S knowledge and acquaintance with CONNIE BART.
4. An envelope and a one-page handwritten letter from JACK CLING, dated December 17, 1958, to Mr. and Mrs. PHIL BART. This letter contained in addition, a cut-out portion of a newspaper story connected with SAM CUSHNER and the disclosure that while CUSHNER was in the CP Underground, he was responsible for the hit and run death of a Negro citizen in Chicago.

The original photographs of the above-described information are being forwarded as enclosures to this letter to Chicago.

4 - Chicago (Encls. 4) (RM)  
    (1- 100- ) (SUE CLING)  
    (1- 100- ) (MORRIS CHILDS)  
① - NY 100-56579 (PHILIP BART) (415)  
1 - NY 100-12959 (CONNIE BART) (415)  
1 - NY 100-19249

HPQ:KMI  
(7)

100-56579-3375

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 27 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. P. Quinn*

F B I

DATE: 5/27/59

TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING IN PLAIN TEXT  
(Plain Text or Code)

VIA AIRTEL RM  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
Cinal

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING  
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO  
IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

5 - Bureau (RM)  
    (1- 100-3-83)(CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)(415)  
    (1- 100-3-75)(CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION)(415)

1 - Baltimore (INFO)(RM)

1 - Washington Field (INFO)(RM)

1 - NY (100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(415)

1 - NY (100-84275)(WILLIAM PATTERSON)(415)

1 - NY (100-23825)(BEN DAVIS)(416)

1 - NY (100-1696)(ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(415)

1 - NY (100-105078)(HY LUMER)(415)

1 - NY (100-16021)(ARNOLD JOHNSON)(415)

1 - NY (100-91330)([REDACTED])(412)

1 - NY (100-56579)(PHIL BART)(415)

1 - NY (100-9369)(TED BASSETT)(425)

1 - NY (100-20789)(W. E. B. DU BOIS)(422)

1 - NY (100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(415)

1 - NY (100-16785)(JAMES JACKSON)(415)

1 - NY (100-48033)(IRVING POTASH)(415)

1 - NY (100-132430)(CP, USA - INDUSTRIAL DIVISION)(42)

1 - NY (100-20128)(ALEXANDER BITTELMAN)(414)

1 - NY (100-80641)

JAC:KMI  
(24)

b6  
b7C

100-56579-3376

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_  
MAY 27 1959  
FBI - NEW YORK

H. P. Quinn

NY 100-80641

On 5/26/59, NY 2359-S\* advised that a meeting believed to be a meeting of the Resident NEC, CPUSA, was held in the third floor board room, CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date.

EUGENE DENNIS was chairman and among those present with DENNIS were:

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.  
HY LUTHER  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
JACK STACHEL,  
and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

Also in attendance as guests were:

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON,

b6  
b7C

an individual believed to be TED BASSET,  
and PHIL BART.

DENNIS announced the agenda as follows:

- question.
1. Resolution and discussion on the Negro
  2. Review of (MARTIN LUTHER) KING'S book.
  3. Report on DENNIS' trip to Chicago.
  4. Report on WILLIAM PATTERSON'S trip to Baltimore and Washington.
  5. A report on the AFL-CIO Council, time permitting.

NY 100-80641

DENNIS said that JIM JACKSON would not be present at the meeting due to a severe throat infection.

WILLIAM PATTERSON gave a report concerning his trip to Baltimore and Washington, noting that it was in connection with a proposed reception for Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS. He said that his first stop was Baltimore where he received an exceptionally fine reception. He noted that it was far beyond any reception previously given to him. PATTERSON remarked that he had seen the editor of the Afro-American newspaper in Baltimore and had been told by him that the paper would accept a full-page advertisement dealing with "an open letter to the Eastland Committee." The price of the advertisement would be \$750.00. Continuing PATTERSON spoke of his later visit to Washington, D.C. and said that while there he spoke to several "leading Negro people." In identifying these individuals, he used the added security of the blackboard and it was not possible for the informant to determine their names. PATTERSON observed that all of these individuals had indicated that they would either participate in the celebration for DuBOIS or would lend their names as sponsors. PATTERSON described these people as "a leading Baptist minister, a Negro lawyer, and persons connected with the University." PATTERSON said that while in Washington and Baltimore, he had raised the question of the issuance of a periodical on the Negro question and this was looked upon favorably by persons with whom he spoke. He felt that his contacts and reception on this trip opens up the possibility of further favorable contacts and should be followed up all over the country.

JACK STACHEL praised PATTERSON'S report noting that it indicates a "deep change taking place among the Negro people." STACHEL then spoke of the Poplarville, Miss. lynching case and commented that the action on the part



NY 100-80641

of the FBI in withdrawing from the case indicated a need for a mounting protest to bring about passage of a federal anti-lynching law. He felt that the Party should concern itself with developing further the initiative of the Negro people and the labor movement for joint action for bringing about the passage of a federal anti-lynching law.

BEN DAVIS said that the Party plans to have a welcome home reception for DuBOIS and that the nature of the program would be governed by DuBOIS' desires. DAVIS then also spoke concerning the lynching case and with reference to the FBI's withdrawal from the case, DAVIS called the withdrawal "most outrageous..... and a most rank abandonment of the Negro people of the South." He continued "they (the FBI) are saying in effect that the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution are no good....." DAVIS felt that this action would "encourage every lynch mob in the South" and "it gives a feeling of utter hopelessness to the Negro people." He said that the morale of the Negro people is at the point of despair and he felt that there was bound to be an explosion.

ELIZABETH GURLEY GLYNN pointed out that the Party and others have been calling for an anti-lynching law since the 1930's. She was of the opinion that because of the many lynching cases which have arisen and the public interest in this problem, it may now be possible to bring about a national anti-lynching conference.

ARNOLD JOHNSON discussed the proposed advertisement on the Negro question and commented that since the effect would be felt by all Negro communities, considerable care must be taken in its perspective.

NY 100-80641

EUGENE DENNIS spoke of the proposed reception for DuBOIS and said that he felt an affair could be planned for some time in the middle of July, and that this could be followed by another at a later date in either Baltimore or Washington.

DAVIS, again speaking of the lynching cases, made the following proposals:

1. An act of unity by Negro leaders of the CP as a part of the Negro people's movement.
2. Consider ways and means of trying to get some sort of a (draft of anti-lynching law) before congress.
3. Develop a long-range concept of how to effect a conscious emergence of forces effected by the Supreme Court decisions. DAVIS described the FBI withdrawal from the Poplarville lynching case as a political act, amounting to a sell-out of the Negro people.

FLYNN, LUMER and PATTERSON were in agreement that PARTY statements must have more fighting spirit if they are to serve the purpose for which intended. PATTERSON noted that there had been a large number of lynchings in Mississippi. He continued that Section 1 of the 14th amendment had been violated by this lynching, and therefore, the FBI was wrong when they stated that there was no violation of law.

JACK STACHEL said that "we should demand the federal government go into action.....compel Eisenhower and the Department of Justice to act." He further recommended that a Negro - white demonstration be held at Union Square, NYC, protesting the action in the Poplarville lynching case.

NY 100-80641

EUGENE DENNIS felt that these recommendations should be further discussed and noted that there was to be no attempt at a decision at this meeting.

DENNIS announced the next item on the agenda concerning the outline of the resolution of the Negro question. [redacted] gave a brief report on this topic. Following his report, DENNIS made suggestions as to the make-up of the resolution on the Negro question and suggested the following three sections:

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1. A section to deal with the current situation and immediate perspectives; this section could deal with such questions as the status of the Negro people's movement in the North and South and the Negro Labor Alliance.

2. Section 2 could project a program of action of the CP together with other progressive forces to cope with questions facing the Negro people.

3. Section 3 would be on the theoretical aspects of the Negro question.

LUMER, STACHEL and an individual believed to be TED BASSETT were generally in agreement with proposed outline on the Negro question, but felt that there might be some comrades who would disagree with the secondary points, while being in agreement with the "main line."

BEN DAVIS felt that the approach in the resolution should be based on world issues and was in favor of a new resolution.

ARNOLD JOHNSON was in favor of the main theme of the resolution, but felt that it should be shortened. WILLIAM PATTERSON said that the resolution should show the relationship between Negroes and labor and if this is not shown there is a danger of not getting labor to join in the struggle. PATTERSON also urged the publishing of a book of "guidance" in connection with the resolution.

NY 100-80641

DENNIS felt that this group had a duty and right to ask for a very short clear resolution. He noted that it had been preceded by a document prepared by JIM (JACKSON). DENNIS noted that the draft has to be in written form by June 9, so that it can be submitted to the National Committee in July. He observed that there was general agreement on the outline of the resolution and suggested that JIM (JACKSON), [redacted] and others get together separately on proposals made at this meeting.

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DENNIS remarked that IRV (POTASH) would be back on Thursday or Friday with a report on the problems of the Industrial Division.

DENNIS then reported on his recent trip to the midwest, noting that he had met with the General Resolutions Committee and the Amnesty Committee. Due to his frequent use of the blackboard, the informant was unable to obtain details of his report.

Before concluding, DENNIS also made a brief reference to the AFL-CIO Council, noting that the Party still has an important job ahead.

HY LUMER read a letter from an unidentified individual (possibly ALEXANDER BITTELMAN) defending the welfare state and demanding that a book written by the author of the letter be published to encourage open discussion on the welfare state. The unidentified writer also requested that his letter be presented to the July meeting of the NC and that he be allowed to defend his position before that body.

DENNIS suggested that a committee go over the manuscript submitted by the above individual and make necessary recommendations.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 5/28/59

UTMOST CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE BY ITS VERY NATURE IT TENDS TO DISCLOSE CG 5824-S\* AS THE SOURCE THEREOF. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT COMPLETE PARAPHRASING BE USED IN THE EVENT ANY OF THIS INFORMATION IS INCORPORATED IN A REPORT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION; IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\*, on May 22, 1959, orally furnished to SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages. This oral information was reduced to writing on May 25, 1959.

3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-3-104) (CP-USA, Counter-Intelligence Program)

2 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-20644) (CP-USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)

(25) - New York (REGISTERED)  
(1 - 100-81752) (CP-USA, Brief)  
(1 - 100-87211) (CP-USA, Factionalism)  
(1 - 100-86624) (CP-USA, International Relations)  
(1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)  
(1 - 100-13166) (CP-USA, Southern Regional Committee)  
(1 - 100-128821) (CP-USA, New York District, Factionalism)  
(1 - 100-128814) (CP-USA, New York District, Organization)  
(1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press)  
(1 - 100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)  
(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)  
(1 - 100-56) (MIKE DAVIDOW)  
(1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS)  
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)  
(1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)

See "11" page for additional copies.

100-56579-3377

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 1 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H.P. Quinn  
H.P. Quinn

CG 100-33741

New York copies (continued)

(1 - 100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON)  
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)  
(1 - 100-52959) (CHARLES LOMAN)  
(1 - 100-47211) (STEVE NELSON)  
(1 - 100-91330) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-48033) (IRVING POTASH)  
(1 - 100- ) (MILT ROSEN)  
(1 - 100-111666) (JACK SHULMAN)  
(1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)  
(1 - 100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON)  
(1 - 100-9595) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)

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b7C

1 - Philadelphia (100-31723) (CP-USA, Organization) (REGISTERED)

1 - Pittsburgh (100-1763) (STEVE NELSON) (REGISTERED)

3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-27747) (CP-USA, Organization)  
(1 - 65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA)  
(1 - 61-415) (AL RICHMOND)

4 - Chicago

(1 - A/134-46)  
(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)  
(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

*JEK*  
JEK/kw  
(39)

May 22, 1959

Discussion on the Future Leadership  
of the Communist Party - USA

On Thursday evening, May 21, 1959, there was a general discussion in Chicago between EUGENE DENNIS, MORRIS CHILDS, and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. This discussion dealt primarily with the future leadership of the Communist Party - USA. DENNIS commented that this was the first time he had discussed some of these matters.

Discussion Between ROBERT THOMPSON  
and EUGENE DENNIS

DENNIS said that about two weeks ago, or prior to the time ROBERT THOMPSON returned to jail, THOMPSON raised some problems with him. THOMPSON said that since he was certain that he would return to jail, he is now a "lame duck" and has no power at the present time. Yet, he wanted to offer some thoughts about the future leadership of the Communist Party - USA. So, DENNIS and THOMPSON spent some time together in which THOMPSON talked chiefly about the attitudes of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BEN DAVIS.

DENNIS said that THOMPSON told him that as far as FOSTER or the "old man" is concerned, he will not change, so there is no use in counting on him too much. THOMPSON said that he had numerous discussions with the "old man" and that FOSTER has remained stationary. All of his thoughts are as they were in 1956 or 1957, when the general discussion in the Party was opened up.

In regard to BEN DAVIS, THOMPSON told DENNIS about the attitude of DAVIS toward DENNIS and other top leaders of the Communist Party - USA, particularly the Negro corps in the leadership. THOMPSON told DENNIS that DAVIS thinks that DENNIS is one of the few top leaders in the Communist Party - USA, but he does not know if DENNIS should be considered the first, second, or third ranking leader, but probably he should not be considered the first ranking leader. DAVIS also charged that DENNIS has been lining up JAMES JACKSON, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, and some of the other Negroes against DAVIS. In other words, DENNIS has gotten the Negro leaders fighting among themselves.

DENNIS stated that THOMPSON told him that the Communist Party - USA cannot stand another factional fight. THOMPSON said that this would be terrible. He stated that he was against it, as are others in the national leadership. Therefore, he told

DENNIS that he thought DENNIS should get together with DAVIS for a discussion in order to determine the approaches to the next National Convention without a fight-to-the-death arrangement. THOMPSON said that DAVIS and DENNIS should see if they could reach an agreement as to whom will constitute the top leadership of the Communist Party - USA in the future.

Discussion Between EUGENE DENNIS,  
BEN DAVIS, and ROBERT THOMPSON

DENNIS said that he, BOB THOMPSON and BEN DAVIS got together about one day before THOMPSON returned to jail. DENNIS said that he explained to DAVIS that he is not organizing anybody, especially Negroes, against DAVIS. DENNIS stated, however, that he told DAVIS that he has always had a personal relationship with some of the Negroes in the leadership, but that he never had a personal association with DAVIS. While he may have a personal relationship with some people such as JAMES JACKSON and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, they have had some disagreements in the past and may still have some disagreements.

DENNIS stated that DAVIS repeated what he had told BOB THOMPSON about DENNIS; that is, that he considers DENNIS to be one of the three or four top leaders in the Communist Party - USA, that DENNIS has to occupy a leading post in the Party, but he is not so sure if DENNIS is the #1, #2, #3, or #4 leader in the Party. DENNIS said that DAVIS stated that he is glad, however, to hear that DENNIS has not been organizing the Negroes against him. DENNIS said he told DAVIS that DAVIS cannot expect people, because of the color of their skin, to agree or to disagree with him on a question of policy just because he happens to be a Negro.

DENNIS commented that this discussion was amiable. DAVIS said that the future leadership cannot be built around JACK STACHEL and PHIL BART. DAVIS stated that he was not raising this in a personal sense, but because he feels that new forces have to be drawn into the leadership. DENNIS said that without committing themselves one way or another in regard to political problems or in regard to the top leadership of the Communist Party - USA, he and DAVIS agreed that they will have to have a similar discussion in the near future and will have to talk together privately at least once a month.

Comments of DENNIS on WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

DENNIS said that the position of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER is



that all of those who were not with him in 1956 or 1957, even though they have since changed their minds or their positions, are against him now. FOSTER does not favor anybody who was in the other camp at any time.

According to DENNIS, JACK SHULMAN recently brought to the National Office a letter FOSTER had written and intends to send to JACQUES DUCLOS. This letter is ostensibly a reply to a letter or telegram FOSTER received from DUCLOS in February, 1959, on the occasion of FOSTER's birthday. In the letter, FOSTER refers to the "greetings" which DUCLOS sent to the Communist Party - USA at the time of the 16th National Convention. FOSTER recalled that DUCLOS had pointed out the dangers in the abolition of democratic centralism in the Communist Party - USA and saw the growth of federalism which would destroy the power of the Communist Party in the United States. FOSTER, in the letter, states that DUCLOS has proven to be correct. This is exactly what happened in the Communist Party - USA. In the letter, FOSTER tells DUCLOS that he is sorry that the Communist Party - USA was not in a position at the time of the 16th National Convention to accept the advice of DUCLOS.

DENNIS said that he mentioned this letter to illustrate that FOSTER is still a disturber of the peace and a force for evil, and they do not know what they can do with him.

According to DENNIS, the resident National Executive Committee, with BEN DAVIS absent, voted unanimously on Tuesday, May 19, 1959, to send word to FOSTER urging him not to transmit this letter to JACQUES DUCLOS. DENNIS said that they are afraid that if the Communist Party of France receives a letter from FOSTER, it will publish it. If this FOSTER letter is published, the United States Government would demonstrate the foreign connections of the Communist Party - USA, particularly with DUCLOS, and show that the foreign influence on the Communist Party - USA has continued since 1945. Thus, this letter of FOSTER might be used by the United States Government as a whip to lash the leadership of the Communist Party - USA, just as the DUCLOS letter was used in the first Smith Act trial in Foley Square in New York City.

DENNIS repeated that he is not certain what FOSTER will do. He said that in the past few years, FOSTER has built a platform so that he can be an opposition. For example, whenever FOSTER voted for a resolution, whether it was on trade union work, the Negro question, or the unity of the Party, he always had some reservation. FOSTER voted "Yes, but" so as to have a platform

to continue his opposition and fight against the leadership.

Discussion Between BEN DAVIS and  
IRVING POTASH

DENNIS said that BEN DAVIS had also called IRVING POTASH to see him and had talked to POTASH about the future leadership of the Communist Party - USA. DENNIS said that DAVIS had discussed with POTASH the same things he had discussed with ROBERT THOMPSON and later with DENNIS and THOMPSON. POTASH told DENNIS that he told DAVIS these matters should be brought out into the open and that they can never be solved individually and privately.

DENNIS cautioned LIGHTFOOT and CHILDS that if POTASH mentions these matters to them, they should not indicate to him that DENNIS had already discussed it with them.

Proposed Strategy of EUGENE DENNIS on the  
Selection of the Future Leadership of the  
Communist Party - USA

DENNIS stated that he is of the opinion that the problem of selecting the future leadership of the Communist Party - USA might best be solved by first of all getting the line of the main political resolution for the 17th National Convention adopted. DENNIS said that he believes that the overwhelming majority of the National Executive Committee, and a lesser majority of the National Committee, will adopt the main political resolution. After this occurs, the opposition will have no platform. This is so because the leadership, on the basis of the political document, could go to the membership and say, This is it. Thereafter, whatever opposition developed would have to be a personal, factional opposition without principle or would have to be an attack against individuals. This is impermissible in the Communist Party, where you have to judge people by their political thinking.

Then DENNIS stated that some things cannot be allowed to continue as they are while political matters are being debated and before a further discussion of organization. DENNIS commented that the California situation requires some attention. He told CHILDS and LIGHTFOOT that JAMES JACKSON would brief them on California. DENNIS then said that the Philadelphia situation is somewhat improved, but is not too good yet. Then there is the New York situation which needs some going into. DENNIS pointed out that BEN DAVIS has said that DENNIS does not sufficiently participate in New York District affairs.

At this point, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said that he thinks that BEN DAVIS is misplaced. LIGHTFOOT stated that DAVIS is not an organizer and is not a leader. He is a public figure and a figurehead with no ability to organize.

DENNIS asked, Is ALBERTSON to be trusted? LIGHTFOOT and CHILDS replied that they thought that in this situation, BILL ALBERTSON is not to be trusted and that he is a factional organizer. Thus, there may be some need to change the leadership in the New York District.

DENNIS said that WILLIAM WEINSTONE and others have stated that when MIKE DAVIDOW was removed or released, and MILT ROSEN was placed in charge of the industrial sections in the New York District, DAVIS and ALBERTSON did this because they wanted a leadership which would be more loyal to them. DENNIS commented that organizational matters such as this make him wonder if they should be allowed to drift to the Convention or should they be handled now.

In regard to CHARLIE LOMAN, DENNIS stated that LOMAN is currently writing some documents. DENNIS said that LOMAN was to have been expelled last week, but the New York District "chickened out" for the time being. DENNIS commented that in his opinion the New York District will go through with the expulsion of LOMAN.

Future Make-up of the Leadership  
of the Communist Party - USA

DENNIS said that in his opinion, the next National Committee of the Communist Party - USA will be smaller in number than the present National Committee. Furthermore, the National Committee members will be elected on a different basis than the last National Committee was elected, and the National Executive Committee will be smaller, since the National Committee will be smaller. DENNIS said that there will be a problem as to whom will be on the National Committee. The leadership will be narrowed to some extent, and yet some new people will have to be drawn into the leadership. In this connection, the only name mentioned by DENNIS was [REDACTED]

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that he disagreed with the proposal that [REDACTED] should be placed in youth work. LIGHTFOOT stated that he feels that [REDACTED] has already been shifted around too much.

There was a general discussion regarding the future Editor of "The Worker". DENNIS and LIGHTFOOT both said that JAMES JACKSON ought to be the next Editor of "The Worker", but so far JACKSON has refused to accept such an assignment.

If JACKSON would become the Editor of "The Worker", the next question would be, Who should be in charge of Negro affairs and the Southern Regional Committee? DENNIS said that he feels that a white person should be in charge of this work. He said that BEN DAVIS had challenged him in regard to why he does not play a more active part in Negro affairs. DENNIS said that it is dangerous for JACKSON and [ ] to travel in the South. They will be caught up with soon and if they get into trouble, it will be serious. Furthermore, 90% of the Communist Party membership in the South is white. Therefore, it would be better to have a white person in charge of this work. b6 b7C

Next, DENNIS said that he felt that new people should not be promoted too rapidly. He said that one solution might be to create alternate members of the National Executive Committee and the National Committee. He said that some people fail when they are given overwhelming tasks and are promoted too rapidly. He said that tasks should be given according to ability, and some newer people being brought into the leadership should work side-by-side with more experienced persons until they get their feet on the ground.

In regard to supporters of the Right wing viewpoint who are still on the National Committee, DENNIS said that recently MICKEY LIMA has been all right. On the other hand, the activities and current thinking of DOROTHY HEALEY, AL RICHMOND, SI GERSON and STEVE NELSON would have to be looked into. He said that in a recent speech, HEALEY once again criticized the Soviet Union for its handling of the Hungarian situation.

DENNIS stated that political problems would have to be clarified in the pre-Convention discussion, but if it is at all possible, the question of leadership should not go into the ranks prior to the Convention. The reason for this is that personalities would be discussed and this would not tend toward unity in the Party.

In regard to the election of a National Chairman, Vice Chairman, and a Secretary, DENNIS said that if there is an election of officers, the election should be by the new National Committee and not by the 17th National Convention. He stated that

the proper procedure is for the National Convention to elect the National Committee and for the National Committee to elect the national officers.

DENNIS said that he did not know whether or not there should be a Political Secretariat. LIGHTFOOT said that while he did not want to commit himself on it, he feels that a Political Secretariat replaces the National Executive Committee and that some people are afraid of a Political Secretariat. LIGHTFOOT said that while there has to be a leadership with authority, a smaller National Executive Committee may be the answer.

5/28/59

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33731)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On May 27, 1959, CG 6032-S\* furnished information that PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the CP, USA, contacted CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman of the Illinois CP, and informed LIGHTFOOT that the Party intended to buy a full page ad in the "Afro-American magazine", not further described, with regard to the withdrawal of the Government from the MACK C. PARKER case in Mississippi. BART said the National Office wanted \$150 from the Illinois CP for this purpose.

Informant advised that LIGHTFOOT indicated that he was not anxious to furnish this amount of money to the National Office for this purpose and commented that something else would have to suffer. He said that he would try to send \$100.

BART also stated that this ad would be signed by all the national Negro leadership of the Party. BART did not indicate what position the Party would take on this issue in the magazine ad.

AUERBACH

- 3- Bureau (REGISTERED)
  - 2- New York (REGISTERED)
    - 1- 100-80640 (CP, USA- Negro Question)
    - 1- 100-56579 (PHIL BART)
  - 3- Chicago
    - 1- 100-18956 (Illinois CP- Negro Question)
    - 1- 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- JJP/njb  
(8)

100-56579-3378

*H. Quinn*

5/28/59

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NY (100-56579)

FROM : SA HAROLD P. QUINN #415

SUBJECT: PHILIP BART  
IS-C; SA - 140

DATE: 5/28/59

On 5/9/59, NY 1637-S\* furnished photographs of information in the possession of PHILIP and CONNIE BART at their residence 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, NY, Apt. 4G. The original negatives of these photographs have been made an exhibit in PHILIP BART'S NY file.

Among the information furnished by this source were photographs of a number of documents which are personally connected with the subject and his wife. Among these were:

1. A rent receipt for a safe deposit box #1211 at the Manufacturers Trust Company, 1144 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, in the name of the subject and his wife for the period September 17, 1958 to September 17, 1959.

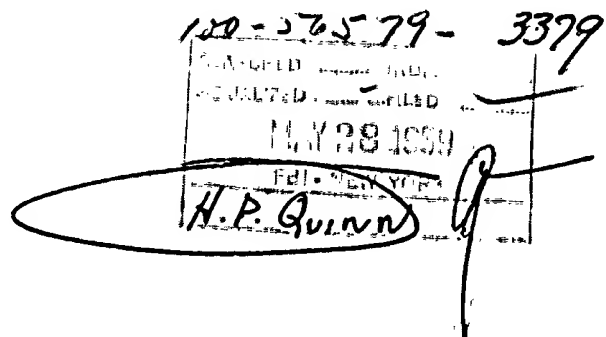
2. A receipt for the purchase of a 1957 Plymouth sedan, on 11/22/57, by CONSTANCE BART, in the amount of \$2125. The notation is made that a 1951 DeSoto was traded in on the above purchase, and that the amount of \$1000.00 of the purchase was financed by the Chase Manhattan Bank for a period of 18 months.

3. A letter mailed on June 29, 1958, from Gloucester, Mass. from CONSTANCE BART to her husband, the subject, regarding a vacation trip which she was then taking.

Document #1 is being placed in the subject's file and documents 2 and 3 are being placed as attachments to the copy of the memorandum designated for his wife's file.

1 - NY 100-12959 (CONNIE BART)(415)  
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART)(415)

HPQ:KMI  
(2)



SAFE DEPOSIT BOX #

LEASE AND NOTICE OF RENTAL DUE THEREUNDER

1

NAME OF LESSEE

MANUFACTURERS TRUST COMPANY  
SAFE DEPOSIT DEPARTMENT

NAME OF JOINT LESSEE

2244 PLATINUM AVENUE, APARTMENT 20, N. Y.  
NEW YORK

Rental in the amount indicated below for safe deposit box No. 1211 let from  
September 17, 1948 1948 to September 17, 1949 1949  
under the terms and conditions of the LEASE appearing on the reverse side hereof will become  
due on the first day of the rental period.

Annual Rent \$ 6.00  
U.S. Gov't Tax \$ 0.00  
Total \$ 6.00

We enclose a remittance pursuant to the above  
LEASE AND NOTICE OF RENTAL DUE  
THEREUNDER.

(Signature)

(Signature)

(Please return this LEASE and NOTICE with your payment in the accompanying envelope.)

4125 4-00

KEEP THIS COPY AS YOUR RECORD

4126 4-00

3 H-4, 12, 150 26-19-3378



## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: 5/28/59

On 4/29/59, [ ] who has furnished reliable information in the past (conceal), dictated a report to SA JOHN A. HAAG of the NYO and SA RUSSELL HORNER of Newark concerning the proceedings of a meeting of the CP, USA Civil Rights Committee held at CP, USA headquarters, NYC, on 4/27/59. Copies of the report (location [ ]) have been disseminated to the files of those persons who spoke at this meeting.

b7D

1 - Baltimore	(100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS) (RM)
1 - Boston	(100- ) (HOMER CHASE) (RM)
1 - Buffalo	(100-11933) (MILT ROSEN) (RM)
1 - Butte	(100-5350) (JOHN HELLMAN) (RM)
3 - Chicago	(61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (RM)
	(1-100-24729) (MANNY BLUM) (RM)
	(1-100-3740) (MORRIS CHILDS) (RM)
2 - Cleveland	(65-721) (ANTON KRCHMAREK) (RM)
	(1-100- ) (GUS HALL) (RM)
1 - Detroit	(100-13420) (CARL WINTER) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles	(100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY) (RM)
	(1-100-4663) (BEN DOBBS) (RM)
1 - Minneapolis	(61-29) (CLARENCE SHARP) (RM)
2 - Newark	(100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY) (RM)
	(1- ) (INV)
1 - Philadelphia	(65-1686) (TOM NABRIED) (RM)
2 - San Francisco	(65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA) (RM)
	(1-65-415) (AL RICHMOND)
1 - Seattle	(100-127) (BURT NELSON) (RM)
1 - NY [ ]	(INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-23825	(BEN DAVIS) (415)
1 - NY 100-105078	(HY LUMER) (415)
1 - NY 100-18065	(JACK STACHEL) (415)
1 - NY 100-8057	(GENE DENNIS) (415)
1 - NY 100-48033	(IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY 100-1696	(ELIZABETH FLYNN) (415)
1 - NY 100-16785	(JAMES JACKSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-14691	(ABNER GREEN) (41)
1 - NY 100-56579	(PHIL BART) (422)
1 - NY 100-129629	(WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
1 - NY 100-16021	(ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-80641	(415)

b7D

JAH:msb  
(32)

100-2579-3380

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 28 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*W. P. Quinn*

NY 100-80641

b7D

According to  the following persons attended:

MICKEY LIMA  
AL RICHMOND  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
BEN DOBBS  
JOHN HELLMAN  
CLARENCE SHARP  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
CARL WINTER  
ANTON KRCHMAREK  
BURT NELSON  
TOM NABRIED  
PAT TOOHEY  
HOMER CHASE  
BEN DAVIS  
HY LUMER  
JACK STACHEL  
GENE DENNIS

IRVING POTASH  
GUS HALL  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
MILT ROSEN  
JAMES JACKSON  
MANNY BLUM  
GEORGE MEYERS  
ABNER GREEN  
PHIL BART  
WILLIAM ALBERTSON  
MORRIS CHILDS  
ARNOLD JOHNSON

\* \* \* \*

The above is a list of all the persons who attended the 4/27/59 meeting of the CPUSA Civil Rights Committee. In those instances where one of the above persons spoke at this meeting a separate memorandum containing that person's comments has been disseminated to the individual's file.

MAY 28 1959

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-410179)

SAC, NEW YORK (100-68745)

BERAL  
ADA/DIMOWITZ, aka.  
SM-C

The following investigation has been conducted to determine the residence and employment of the subject who is on the SI of the NYO.

[redacted] Clerk, USPO, Brooklyn, NY, advised SA JOSEPH M. MULVANEY on 3/16/59, that on 2/3/59, a removal notice for the subject was placed changing her mailing address from 1900 51st St., Brooklyn, NY, to 2415 Newkirk Ave., Brooklyn, NY, care of BART and subsequently another removal notice was placed on 2/14/59, changing her mailing address to 3720 Ave. L, Brooklyn, NY, care of LADINSKY.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised SA JOSEPH O'LEARY on 3/23/59, that he could furnish no information regarding the subject or her husband as staying with the BART s. On 4/3/59, [redacted] was shown a photograph of the subject by SA O'LEARY and [redacted] stated that he had never seen the subject.

- 2- Bureau (100-410179) (RM)
- ①- New York (100-56579) (PHILIP BART)
- 1- New York (100-12959) (CONNIE BART)
- 1- New York (100-106625) (MORRIS DIMOWITZ)
- 1- New York (100-68745) (ADA DIMOWITZ)

HEM:ptp  
(6)

100-56579-3381

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 29 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. P. Quinn

NY 100-68745

[redacted]  
[redacted] Brooklyn, NY, advised SA O'LEARY on 3/23/59, that he could furnish no information regarding the subject living at that address. On 4/3/59, [redacted] was shown a photograph of the subject and MORRIS DIMOWITZ and he advised he had never seen them.

b6  
b7C

On 3/25/59, [redacted] US Mail Carrier, on mail route covering 3720 Ave. L, Brooklyn, NY, advised SA JOSEPH O'LEARY that Mrs. LADINSKY had told him that ADA DIMOWITZ was her married daughter who did not live there but only had her mail delivered there.

NY 1637-S\* furnished information on 5/6/59, that on that date a letter was in the possession of PHILIP and CONNIE BART, 2415 Newkirk Ave., Brooklyn, NY, from M. DIMOWITZ, 816 E. 14th St., Brooklyn, NY, which letter was post-marked 4/10/59.

ADA DIMOWITZ is the sister of PHILIP BART. MORRIS DIMOWITZ is the husband of ADA.

According to the above letter, MORRIS had received a letter from EDITH (a name by which ADA is known) which apparently came from California, according to the vague language of the letter. The letter reflected that a child of MORRIS DIMOWITZ was sick (probably in California) and MORRIS was sending money to EDITH for doctor and medical expenses.

It would appear from the letter that MORRIS DIMOWITZ was in bad health and that he and EDITH are not getting along well together. It is believed that the above mentioned EDITH is identical with the subject and that she is presently in California.

NY 100-68745

Attempts are continuing to determine the current residence and employment of ADA DIMOWITZ. FD 122 has been submitted reflecting her residence and employment are unknown.

A photographic copy of the letter furnished by NY 1637-S\* referred to above, is being retained as an exhibit in NY 100-68745-1A.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-7658)

5/28/59

SA JAMES E. REILLY

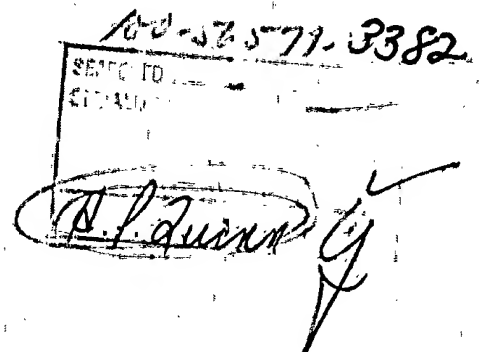
LEMENT U. HARRIS  
IS - C

Identity of Informant: NY 2353-S\* (Conceal and  
paraphrase)  
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable  
information in the past  
Date: 5/6/59

NY 2353-S\* has reported that on 5/6/59, LEM (HARRIS) contacted PHIL BART and they discussed when they could see each other. LEM mentioned he has a lunch date tomorrow (5/7/59) and asked PHIL if he would be there at 2. PHIL commented that LEM name a time and he would make it his business to be there. They agree LEM can stop by at 2 tomorrow.

- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1- New York (100-74560) (CP, USA-FUNDS) (415)
- 1- New York (100-7658) (423)

JER:gms  
(3)



FBI

Date: 5/28/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

Via AIRTEL RM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80640)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION  
IS-C  
Cinal

NY 2010-S\* reported on 5/27/59, PHIL BART contacted DOROTHY HEALEY in Los Angeles, Calif., and said that on "this whole Negro development we are placing an ad in the national editions of the (Baltimore) "Afro-American." BART said this was a big expense and the CP is asking a few Districts to share the expense of the ad. In answer to a question as to what he meant by the "whole Negro development," BART replied, "the lynching that's taken place - the FBI being withdrawn from Mississippi." He said that the CP proposes an open letter to President EISENHOWER, signed by Negro leaders of the Party in the form of such an ad. He added that such a thing has to be done speedily in order to be effective.

HEALEY complained that there was no money available in the District at the time. BART replied, that all the CP wanted from Los Angeles is \$250.00. He explained that the whole thing would cost \$1700.

3 - Bureau (100-3-75)(RM)  
1 - Baltimore (INFO)(RM)  
4 - Los Angeles (RM)  
    (1- 100- ) (DOROTHY HEALEY)  
    (1- 100- ) (BEN DOBBS)  
    (1- 100- ) (CPUSA - YOUTH MATTERS)  
① - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART)(415)  
1 - NY (100-80644) (CPUSA - YOUTH MATTERS)(415)  
1 - NY (100-80640)

RER:KMI  
(12)

100-56579-3383

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 28 1959	
FBI-NEW YORK	

*H.P. Quinn*

NY 100-80640

BART explained further that the ad was to be a full page ad in the national edition and that the "Afro-American" has agreed to take the ad in the name of the CP, "which is the thing." HEALEY commented that any paper would take the ad for "that amount of money."

HEALEY stated that the money that is normally available in Los Angeles is being used to "send a young person (to NY for youth meeting) this weekend. BART replied that he thought it had been agreed not to send anyone from California. HEALEY confirmed this and stated that "our young people insisted and demanded" that someone be sent from California. In closing, HEALEY said she would take the question up with BEN (DOBBS), to which BART said the Party would appreciate the \$250.00 or the nearest amount available to that figure.



NY-112

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579) (422)

FROM: SA [REDACTED] b6  
b7C

DATE: 5/29/59

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
SM-C

The above captioned subject was observed entering and/or leaving 23 West 26th St., New York, New York.

NY 1726-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 4/21/57 that effective 4/15/57 the National and New York State offices of the Communist Party would occupy the premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

NY 694-S\* on 6/5/58 advised that the editorial staff of "The Worker" was to be moved into the building at 23 West 26th Street on 6/7,8/58.

NY 2002-S\* on 6/20/58 verified the occupancy of the basement and first floor areas of building by the office staff of "The Worker", an East Coast weekly Communist newspaper.

DATE

OBSERVED BY SAS

5/11/59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

5/12/59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

5/13/59



b6  
b7C

5/14/59

5/18/59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

A log covering the above surveillances is being maintained in NY file 100-4931 Sub O.

FJM:gms

(1) *gms*

100-56579-3384

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 29 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*A.P. Quinn*

9/1/4

NY-112

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579) (422)

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

DATE: 5/29/59

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
SM - C

The above captioned subject was observed entering and/or leaving 23 West 26th St., New York, New York.

NY 1726-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 4/21/57 that effective 4/15/57 the National and New York State offices of the Communist Party would occupy the premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

NY 694-S\* on 6/5/58 advised that the editorial staff of "The Worker" was to be moved into the building at 23 West 26th Street on 6/7,8/58.

NY 2002-S\* on 6/20/58 verified the occupancy of the basement and first floor areas of building by the office staff of "The Worker", an East Coast weekly Communist newspaper.

DATE

OBSERVED BY SAS

5 /19/59

WILLIAM J. BARRON  
THOMAS A. CONLON

5 /20 /59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

/ /59

/ /59

/ /59

A log covering the above surveillances is being maintained in NY file 100-4931 Sub O.

FJM:gms

(1) *gms*

100-56579-3385

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>A. J. Quinn</i>	

A I R T E L

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
C I N A L

DATE: 6/1/59

CG 5824-S\*, on 5/28/59, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING, for photostating, the following two items:

(1) A mimeographed letter dated 5/25/59, addressed "To All Districts", and signed "Phil Bart, Org. Secretary". This letter encloses a letter addressed to all Communist Party clubs.

(2) A two-page, mimeographed letter dated 5/25/59, with the caption, "A Letter To All Party Clubs", and signed "Phil Bart, National Organizational Secretary, Communist Party, USA". This letter presents five "key questions to which the present activities of your club should be related." The five

- 3 - Bureau (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED) (Encls. 2)  
⑦ - New York (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED) (Encls. 2) *mm*  
    (1 - 100-89691) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)  
    (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership)  
    (1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question)  
    (1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)  
    (1 - 100-89590) (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry)  
    (1 - 100-80644) (CP-USA, Youth Matters)  
    (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)  
3 - Chicago  
    (1 - A/134-46)  
    (1 - 100-32207) (CINAL)

*JEK/kw*  
(13)

*HP [unclear]*

100-56579-3386

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

*[Signature]*

*M*

issues are peace, defense of labor's rights, the Negro liberation movement, youth, strengthening Party clubs; building "The Worker".

Under the last issue, the following are among the statements which are made:

"The rebuilding of the Party means rebuilding clubs. Bringing back former members means bringing them back into functioning, active clubs. The entire Party, from the existing clubs up, should devote itself to strengthening the Party clubs and multiplying their number. Every club should examine and discuss its approach to former members with the object of bringing them into the Party and in many instances to join their support for the Fund Drive and in other activities."

One photostat copy of each of the above two items is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the New York Division. The Chicago copies are located in Chicago file 100-33741-1B3 (87).

AUERBACH

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM , UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-1696)

DATE: 6/3/59

FROM: SA DONALD E. HARTNETT

SUBJECT: ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
IS-C; ISA-50

On 5/15/59, NY 2318-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN contacted PHIL BART concerning a party to be held the following evening in honor of ROBERT THOMPSON at the apartment of EUGENE DENNIS. During the discussion, ELIZABETH mentioned that EDNA WINSTON has had an application for clemency (for HENRY WINSTON) filed since last February, but has not been able to get signatures on it. ELIZABETH told BART that he should get the application from EDNA and that she would take personal responsibility in getting the required signatures. She said that she plans to get in touch with SI (GERSON) to have him contact the people who signed the original amnesty plea. She mentioned that she thinks it is terrible that this thing was allowed to lapse so long and that she, herself, would be willing to take charge of it, along with SI and JIM JACKSON. She also said that GIL (GREEN) refused to sign his (application for executive clemency) because there has been no agitation or movement in his behalf. ELIZABETH feels, however, that if they get the job done for WINSTON, GREEN will sign his. BART mentioned to ELIZABETH that ARNOLD JOHNSON is not going up to Boston over the weekend and that as a result they have nobody to go. ELIZABETH said that she does not want to go because she is not too familiar with the situation up there. She suggested that BART contact HOMER CHASE

- 1- Boston (HOMER CHASE) (INFO) (RM)
- 1- Chicago (GIL GREEN) (INFO) (RM)
- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
- 1- New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- 1- New York (100-78589) (EDNA WINSTON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-89691) (CP, USA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION) (415)
- 1- New York (100-13473) (SI GERSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-12959) (CONSTANCE BART) (422)
- 1- New York (100-100351) (SYLVIA HALL) (415)
- 1- New York (100-1696) (415)

DEH:gms  
(13)

100-56579-3387

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 11 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	
H. P. Quinn	

MEMO  
NY 100-1696

in Washington, New Hampshire and let him know that no one will be coming up for the weekend.

On 5/16/59, NY 2379-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised ELIZABETH and KATHY FLYNN were picked up by PHIL and CONNIE BART and taken to the apartment of EUGENE DENNIS, where a party for ROBERT THOMPSON was being held. Following their return from the party, ELIZABETH and KATHY discussed the affair that BOB THOMPSON was having with SYLVIA HALL. KATHY expressed her surprise that BOB goes with "that woman". ELIZABETH said that they had been pretty cute about it, but that she has known for some time what has been going on, that SYLVIA has been playing house and nurse for him for a long time and hopes to marry him some day. ELIZABETH also mentioned that someone had recently sent out an anonymous letter to a lot of people complaining about BOB THOMPSON's treatment of his wife.

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

6/3/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-68745)

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

SM - C

Identity of Informant: NY 2010-S\* (Conceal and paraphrase)  
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past  
Date: 5/27/59

NY 2010-S\* has reported that on 5/27/59, "FAY" (APTHEKER) of Consolidated Tours, Inc., a travel agency, contacted PHIL BART. PHIL said he wanted a ticket and a half from San Francisco to New York any day around June 15th, which week he said begins on a Monday (June 15th). PHIL confirmed that he just wants a regular non-stop flight and told FAY that he would like the payments that he discussed with FAY. FAY replied that she would have to send the form to PHIL for him to fill out.

b6  
b7C

In answer to FAY's request PHIL then gave her the names (of the passengers involved): [REDACTED] and "the half ticket is TRUDY", who he indicated was about 10 years old. FAY then said that she needed their address in San Francisco and PHIL gave it: 841 Western Ave., Petaluma, California. FAY then asked if PHIL has a phone number for them and PHIL replied that he would call FAY as he did not have it with him. FAY said that in the meantime she would give the airline the address and would make the reservation. She said she would call PHIL to tell him what she has done and asked where she should send the form. PHIL told FAY to send everything to his home: 2415 Newkirk Ave., Brooklyn 26, and that he could send it back to FAY including the phone "over there" and everything.

- 1- San Francisco (Info) (RM)
- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1- New York (100-110888) (FAY APTHEKER) (422)
- 1- New York (100-68745)

JVW:gms  
(4)

100-56579-3388

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 1 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

FBI

Date: 6/4/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-24914)

PHILIP BART  
IS - C

b7D

[redacted] advised on 6/3/59 that subject scheduled to speak at CP meeting, North Shore Section, CP, USA, New England District, 6/13/59.

Boston will furnish any information developed relative to BART's visit this area.

LAUGHLIN

② New York (100-56579) (RM)  
2- Boston (100-24914)  
(1- [redacted])

b7D

LMM:bat  
(4)

100-56579-3389

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 5 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H.P. Quinn*

*6/6/59*

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-3284)

DATE: 5/18/59

FROM : SAC, ~~NEW YORK~~ (100-56579)

SUBJECT: PHILIP BART, aka  
IS-C  
SI-40

Corrected Security Index cards attached. Substitute for cards in file and destroy old cards. Place photograph and description on reverse side of geographical card.

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name		
Aliases		
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party	<input type="checkbox"/> Independent Socialist League
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Race _____	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Date of Birth _____	Place of Birth _____	
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)  Communist Party, USA 23 West 26th Street New York, New York		
Key Facility Data		
Geographical Reference Number _____		Responsibility _____
Interested Agencies _____		
Residence Address _____		

HQ:ptk

HIS

REGISTERED MAIL

H. P. Quinn

no- 56579-3390

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3284)

5/18/59

~~SAC~~, NEW YORK (100-56579)

PHILIP BART  
IS-C; SMITH ACT 1940

Corrected Security Index cards  
attached. Substitute for cards  
in file and destroy old cards.  
Place photograph and description on  
reverse side of geographical card.

The subject has recently taken employment again  
as a functionary of the CP, USA. In view of this information  
subject's name is being restored to the Key Figure list of  
the NYO and the character of this case changed to IS-C.

Handwriting specimens and a photograph of the  
subject are already available at the Bureau.

- 2- Bureau (100-3284) (RM)
- 1- New York (100-96900) (Key Figure-Top Functionary) (416)
- 1- New York (100-56579) (415)

HPQ:gms  
(4)

5-29-59  
JLK

100-56579-3391

416  
H. P. Lunn

Chicago Ill  
4307 N Troy  
Oct 14 1958

Mrs. Helen Harris  
American Red Cross  
One Red Cross Pl.  
New York 1, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Harris:

Sorry I did not answer sooner, but I had one of these horrible colds that afflict people at this time of year.

Yes, I know Constance Bart. She has been a personal friend of mine for many years. During the war years she worked in Chicago on a voluntary basis at the Servicemen's Center, and with the local political party representatives on problems of servicemen. Servicemen then came to her for advice, counsel, etc., on their problems - personal and family.

I would say that she is a fine person, as an individual, that she is conscientious in whatever work I have seen undertaken by her, and thorough. She has always been well liked in whatever work she has done, people have shown confidence in her, and I personally am happy to be a friend of hers.

I hope that the above will help you in any decision you may make regarding Constance Bart. If you feel that I can be of any further help to you, I will certainly be happy to try.

Sincerely,

Sue Kling

CHAPTER OFFICERS

Chapter Chairman  
Walter A. Giles  
Vice-Chairman  
Executive Committee  
Dr. Otto Klitzgord  
Vice-Chairman  
Frederick V. Goetz  
John W. Hooper  
Mrs. Walter C. Robertson  
Treasurer  
Rodney C. Ward  
Assistant Treasurer  
John L. Bates  
Secretary  
Mrs. Mabel Corey Watt  
Assistant Secretary  
Mrs. Morgan Grossman  
Council  
Frederick A. Keck  
Arthur Levin  
Oscar A. Lewis  
John P. McGrath



THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS  
BROOKLYN CHAPTER

ONE RED CROSS PLACE, BROOKLYN 1, N. Y.

MAin 4-6000

J. PAUL THORN  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Dwight D. Eisenhower  
Honorary Chairman  
E. Roland Harrison  
Chairman  
Alfred M. Greenblatt  
President

October 7, 1958.

Mrs. Sue Kling  
4307 North Troy Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Kling:

Mrs. Constance Bart has applied to us for a position as a caseworker on our Home Service staff.

As you may know, caseworkers in the Home Service Department of the American Red Cross give information, personal service and some financial relief to the families of men and women serving in the armed forces and to disabled ex-servicemen after discharge. They make home visits and conduct office interviews. They have heavy correspondence with the military authorities via our Red Cross field directors.

Mrs. Bart tells us that you have known her both personally and professionally. We shall appreciate any information concerning her capacities as a caseworker, her personal attributes and attitudes, her work habits and any data which you deem pertinent in order for us to make a decision at the earliest possible moment.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

We are enclosing a stamped and addressed envelope and shall welcome a prompt reply.

Sincerely,

*Helen L. Harris*  
(Mrs.) Helen L. Harris  
Director  
Home Service Department

Harris...ak  
encl.  
airmail

DIRECTOR, FBI

6/1/59

SAC, NEW YORK

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
TOP LEADERSHIP PROGRAM  
IS - C

Re Dilet 5/22/59, captioned as above.

Coverage of ROBERT THOMPSON under the Top Leadership Program is being discontinued by the NYO in view of his incarceration on 5/20/59, to begin serving the balance of a four-year contempt of court sentence.

PHILIP BART has taken over the duties of the CP, USA Organizational Secretary, which was formerly handled by THOMPSON. A separate communication will be forwarded to the Bureau recommending that BART be afforded coverage under the captioned program in view of his present position in the CP, USA.

2 - Bureau (RM)

1 - NY 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON) 415

1 - NY 100-56579 (PHILIP BART) 415

1 - NY 100- (TOP LEADERSHIP PROGRAM) 415

MRD/mrd  
(5)

100-56579-3393

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 4 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. Quinn*

SAC (100-22157)

6/1/59

SA RICHARD W. HANSEN

PHIL BART  
IS - C

On 5/1/59, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA RICHARD W. HANSEN of the following. This information was typed into statement form by SA HANSEN on 5/1/59 and was then read and initialed by the Informant on 5/7/59. It is maintained in [redacted]  
[redacted]

b7D

"Philadelphia, Pa.  
5/1/59

"On 5/1/59, THOMAS NABRIED [redacted]  
[redacted] the National Office, Communist  
Party, USA. [redacted] PHIL BART [redacted]  
that he would like to come to Philadelphia on May 9th  
to see TOM. BART indicated that he would stay all  
day and would discuss with TOM matters relating to  
the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Dela-  
ware. If the arrangements for the meeting as sug-  
gested by BART were not agreeable to NABRIED,  
NABRIED was to so advise BART and suggest another  
arrangement."

b7D

1 - New York(100-56579)(PHIL BART)(REGISTERED MAIL)

3 - Philadelphia  
1 - 100-22157  
1 - 65-1686 (THO: NABRIED)  
1 - [redacted]

RWH:rdc  
(4)

100-56579-3394

H. P. Quinn

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 1 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. P. Quinn

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

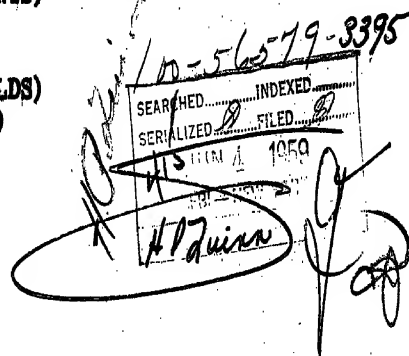
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-102)      DATE: 6/2/59  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-34108)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
FUNDS (RESERVE FUNDS)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

UTMOST CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT COMPLETE PARAPHRASING BE USED IN THE EVENT ANY OF THIS INFORMATION IS INCORPORATED IN A REPORT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION SINCE THE INFORMATION, BY ITS VERY NATURE, TENDS TO DISCLOSE CG 5824-S\* AS THE SOURCE THEREOF.

CG 5824-S\*, on June 1, 1959, exhibited to SA JOHN E. KEATING a letter which had been given to EUGENE DENNIS by PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, for delivery to MORRIS CHILDS in Chicago during the week of May 17, 1959. The complete text of this letter appears on the following page.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-8236) (CP-USA, Funds) (Reserve Funds)
  - (1 - 100- ) (MORRITZ MAX KAPLAN)
- 2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP-USA, Funds) (Reserve Funds)
  - (1 - 100- ) ((FNU) MASTER)
- 1 - Newark (100-39769) (ROBERT WIRTZ) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-128861) (CP-USA, Funds) (Reserve Funds)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
- 4 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-3313) (JACK KLING)

JW JEK/kw  
(14)



June 1, 1959

"Monday

"Dear Morris:

"I am already somewhat 'swamped' with work but that is not unexpected. I understand you have quite a bit of 'medical' problems, but you are used to that more than you should have to be.

"I wanted to ask you about doing something if you should get the chance - it's related to finances.

"Should you get a hold of Jack Kling would you ask him what he knows about the following people in recent period. Could he help us reach them?

"1. The person in Gary (I don't know if its you or Jack who knows this person).

"2. Master in Milwaukee.

"3. The person in Ft. Wayne.

"4. This one is in regards to yourself. Could we get some members of the family of the guy in N.J. reach him. As you know we have been unable to do it from here.

"We are trying to get something done in regards to the above. It has always been tough.

"Will deal comprehensively when I see you.

"Very, very best to Sonny and yourself,

/s/ "Phil"



COMMENTS OF CG 5824-S\*

It is understood that CHILDS planned to turn this letter over to JACK KLING.

With the exception of paragraph numbered 4 in the letter, the identities of the persons referred to by BART are not known. The paragraph numbered 4 refers to BOB WIRTZ, of New Jersey.

It would appear that PHIL BART has not been taken into the confidence of EUGENE DENNIS in regard to the current financial status of the Communist Party - USA. If he had been, BART would not have written a letter of this type at this time.

COMMENTS OF THE CHICAGO DIVISION

It is believed that the person in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, referred to by BART may be MAX KAPLAN.

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-83) DATE: 6/3/59

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-89691)

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION  
IS - C

On 5/1/59, NY 2379-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that PEGGY DENNIS, wife of EUGENE DENNIS, visited the apartment of ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, National Field Organizer, CP, USA.

2 - Bureau (100-3-83) (RM)  
1 - Chicago (61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (RM)  
1 - Chicago (100-3952) (GIL GREEN) (RM)  
1 - Chicago (100- ) (FLORENCE GREEN) (RM)  
1 - Chicago (100- ) (LIL GREEN) (RM)  
1 - Chicago (100- ) (BEN GREEN) (RM)  
1 - Chicago (100- ) (FSAV) (RM)  
1 - Cleveland (100- ) (GUS HALL) (RM)  
1 - Los Angeles (100- ) (ANNA LOUISE STRONG) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (97-26) (BIL SCHNEIDERMAN) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-93796) (PEGGY DENNIS) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (#416)  
1 - New York (100-16785) (JIM JACKSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-27452) (BOB THOMPSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-9365) (BILL FOSTER) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-87211) (CP Factionalism) (#415)  
① - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-78589) (EDNA WINSTON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-106912) (FSAV) (#414)

COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

1 - New York (100-89691)

DEH:ac  
(33)

100-56579-3396

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
415	JUN 13 1959
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. Quinn

NY 100-89691

PEGGY thanked ELIZABETH for the column she had written in "The Worker" concerning the work of the FSAV Committee, which was recently dissolved as an active organization.

The discussion then turned to PEGGY's husband, GENE DENNIS, with FLYNN commenting that she really loves GENE but gets very mad at him at times. She recalled the recent attack made on GENE by IRVING POTASH and both ELIZABETH and PEGGY agreed that POTASH is not willing to listen or learn and that all he talks about is the way things are done in China. They both agreed that because of his travels POTASH thinks he knows so much and believes that things can be "pulled out of a hat." the way they do it in the Soviet Union. ELIZABETH said that she came to GENE's defense following POTASH's attack (unspecified), and that every time someone blasts GENE she intends to defend him. ELIZABETH also criticized the sniping tactics of BEN DAVIS and said that if GENE DENNIS won't run against BEN (at the coming convention) that she would rather then let him have it.

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - New York (100-45462) (ROSE BARON) (#424)  
1 - New York (100-19249) (ROSE KRYZAK) (#423)  
1 - New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (#315)  
1 - New York (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON) (#416)  
1 - New York (100-24624) (LOUISE PATTERSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-81754) (HALOISE MOORHEAD) (#425)  
1 - New York (100-18618) (ESTHER JACKSON) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-80643) (CP Womens Matters) (#415)  
1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (#415)

NY 100-89691

PEGGY replied that GENE does not worry too much about backing from various Party leaders but is concerned about the unity of the Party itself. She said "they" keep insisting that revisionism is the main danger to the Party but that she does not agree. She said that when JIM JACKSON visited the DENNIS apartment recently, he kept saying that revisionism is the main danger and that GENE had told him how when JIM was abroad that BEN (DAVIS), BOB (THOMPSON) and BILL (FOSTER) were mobilizing for the State and National Committee (against the DENNIS faction). PEGGY said she thought this was interesting that JIM came back from abroad and that the main thing "they" talked about (Russians) is the danger to the Party from within.

ELIZABETH noted that BEN (DAVIS) made the only attack on JACKSON's visit to the Soviet Union; that he criticized JIM for not attacking American imperialism in his speech (to the 21st Congress). JACKSON answered DAVIS by saying that there were numerous parties present and that he was only given two to five minutes which made it impossible for him to go into a longer speech.

ELIZABETH told PEGGY that JIM had intended to attack the American Government policy but that "they" (Russians) had deleted it telling him his greetings were too long. They also told JACKSON that they were cutting out certain portions of his speech because consideration had to be given to their position in view of diplomatic relationships, etc. ELIZABETH said that what JACKSON mentioned about political prisoners, however, was different and that she thought JIM had made a very good explanation (regarding his speech).

NY 100-89691

ELIZABETH also told PEGGY that BEN DAVIS tried to foul up BILL SCHNEIDERMAN as much as he could and that JACKSON had taken up SCHNEIDERMAN's case with them (Russians) and that ELIZABETH and the others were willing to wait until they saw what they (Russians) would do first (concerning SCHNEIDERMAN). She said that DAVIS was opposed to this and does not want to give SCHNEIDERMAN any help whatsoever.

ELIZABETH also mentioned that POTASH was shocked when she told him that BILL (FOSTER) had a hand in the SCHNEIDERMAN affair. PEGGY stated that in her opinion, BILL (FOSTER) has had a hand in all the wrong information being circulated around the world these days. She said that it is much better when they get their information either first hand or from a National Committee member rather than second hand. ELIZABETH agreed that JACKSON's trip was very useful and that it was better getting information this way than from a man (FOSTER) who has been in bed all these years.

ELIZABETH told PEGGY that POTASH had told her (BILL (FOSTER) is writing feverishly, and that when she commented, "Oh God help us," POTASH told her he did not like her attitude. She replied that he did not know what they had been through and that if he did he would have added, "Amen" (to her remark).

ELIZABETH told PEGGY that in her opinion POTASH's return is not equal to GUS HALL's coming back by any means and that she believes POTASH is very bitter.

NY 100-89691

PEGGY noted that POTASH once made the remark to her, "You did some job on my daughter. Whatever you did she is lost to the movement." ELIZABETH said that the situation is very sad because POTASH is really a good man. It was PEGGY's opinion that POTASH has been ignoring them since she has frequently invited him to dinner but he keeps making excuses to stay away. ELIZABETH said that no matter what you do POTASH judges one by a political yardstick.

The discussion then returned to GENE DENNIS with ELIZABETH remarking that she has to avoid giving the impression that everything that GENE does is okay with her, however, she does find that GENE's position is the most sensible one, that she agrees with and that she has confidence in his political judgement.

PEGGY said that in spite of what some people say, the people abroad (Russians) have not been critical of him and have confidence in him. ELIZABETH said that if they have a recapitulation of all those issues they will lose a lot of members because people are tired of hearing these old arguments. She said that GENE made a good speech the previous week concerning unity but that he neglected to say "unity based on what."

ELIZABETH then mentioned that GUS HALL feels that he has to get around the country to see what things are like, which in her opinion is a good idea. ELIZABETH also remarked that PHIL BART is a good sensible comrade but that he does not have the political sense to make a good secretary nor does he have the drive that BOB THOMPSON has.

NY 100-89691

The conversation then turned to certain problems that have arisen in connection with the committees to take care of the WINSTON and GREEN families. She said that BEN GREEN has said they would take care of LIL GREEN in Chicago, but would not take care of both families, and that it was settled that New York should take care of EDNA (WINSTON). After this agreement was reached, however, ROSE BARON received a letter from Chicago asking for money for LIL GREEN to take a trip. PEGGY said that this was very annoying because it put them in the position of refusing LIL money and that she had written LIL saying that if for any reason they could not take care of her in Chicago then they would take money out of the New York fund but that because of legal complications they could not add to the fund. PEGGY said that she wrote to FLORENCE GREEN and received a nasty letter back under LIL GREEN's signature, but which she does not think LIL wrote.

PEGGY said that she had spoke with CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) on the Sunday evening of the NC meeting and he agreed that if BEN GREEN had made an agreement with New York, that he should abide by it. CLAUDE, however, could not understand how New York could turn over a couple of thousand dollars to EDNA and not a cent to LIL. PEGGY said that she straightened CLAUDE out on this matter.

She also said that the National Office had received a letter asking them to conduct an appeal for funds for LIL GREEN but nothing for EDNA and that PEGGY does not understand how such an appeal could be conducted for one and not the other.

NY 100-89691

PEGGY remarked that EDNA WINSTON has told her that the money is going very fast and that she had written EDNA a letter in which she mentioned that she hoped EDNA could receive help from some of her friends.

PEGGY also mentioned that she recently met with ROSE KRYZAK who can not understand why the Party is critical of the committee because everything they were doing was helping the Party. ROSE also wanted to know why there was a constant attack on them and that PEGGY told her that she had not heard of any such attack, also mentioning that EDNA WINSTON is conducting a constant tirade to the effect that the Party is doing nothing for her. PEGGY said that in the old days the Party could take a different stand about amnesty because the leaders were in jail but that today it is different.

PEGGY mentioned that stories are getting around that the committee gave all the money to LIL GREEN and that LIL thinks it was given to EDNA and vice-a-versa. She also mentioned that from the money available, ROSE KRYZAK had given \$700 to BOB THOMPSON. ELIZABETH suggested that they give EDNA and LIL each \$700 which might help end the controversy.

PEGGY said that an appeal for funds through a mailing campaign has been proposed and that whatever money they raise would be added and turned over to ROSE BARON who will be trustee of the fund. PEGGY said, however, that there is some question in her mind as to the legality of such an operation and whether the money should be sent to ROSE BARON. She was of the opinion that the committee might have to go back into business and set up ROSE BARON as a



NY 100-89691

trustee. FLYNN indicated that she was not too happy over this prospect and blamed Chicago on the whole situation because they should have taken over and issued appeals for both families.

ELIZABETH said the embarrassing thing about the whole matter is that people are asking why the families committee was dissolved. PEGGY suggested that they reorganize a committee around the families still affected. She also said that BEN DAVIS had made a speech about the good work of women on a united front and that BILL ALBERTSON was excited about this work as was LOUISE PATTERSON.

She also mentioned that she had exchanged letters with ANNA LOUISE STRONG regarding the women's work and that she had received a very warm letter in return from ANNA who was in China. She also mentioned receiving a letter from HALOISE (MOORHEAD) who raised some issues about why she had not been invited to a certain affair.

PEGGY also discussed a meeting she had with BEN DAVIS regarding the women's commission and ELIZABETH suggested that ESTHER JACKSON should be put in charge of it but that JIM JACKSON had disagreed saying that it was impossible for ESTHER to do so because of her work.

PEGGY also suggested that ELIZABETH should become chairman of the women's commission which would lend prestige to the commission but ELIZABETH replied that she does not want to get involved because of the factional fights, jealousies, etc. She said that they should not try to organize the women's commission but instead should try to get a 50th Anniversary Committee and in that way they could include any women they wanted to.

NY 100-89691

The discussion then turned to BEN DAVIS and both agreed that he is very smart at taking people over, citing ARNOLD JOHNSON as an example.

The remaining conversation concerned the book FLYNN is writing on her experiences at Alderson Prison.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

6/4/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

On 6/2/59, NY 2002-S\* furnished a photographic copy of a memo prepared on 5/28/59 by JACK SHULMAN for PHIL BART, CP National Organization Secretary on the former's efforts to secure accommodations for the meeting of the CP National Committee on 7/25 and 26/59.

SHULMAN noted that he had engaged Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., NYC, from 10 am to 10 pm on 7/25/59 and from 10 am to 6 pm on 7/26/59, for a total of \$140. The accommodations are to be held open for engagement on the evening of 7/26/59, until July 15th. The extra time would be \$40 extra. SHULMAN has further noted that the management was holding open accommodations for 7/27/59 from 10 am to 6 pm. The space was reserved in the name of the Political Action Forum.

On 6/3/59, Confidential Source [ ] advised that Room 9B of Adelphi Hall had been assigned as above, with 80 persons to be accommodated and a buffet to be provided.

b7D

It is expected that this NC meeting will be covered by the NYO through available sources at Adelphi Hall. The Bureau will be furnished a daily teletype summary.

Also contained in SHULMAN's memo is a report on his efforts to obtain a hall for the CP National Convention. He states Adelphi has no hall large enough; the Central Plaza is booked for a year ahead with TV rehearsals. The quarters of the Broadway Central Hotel, he states, are in the hands of the Jewish caterer interested only in weddings, etc. and definitely not interested in the CP. The Manhattan Towers is probably not available, and the Riverside Plaza (site of the 12th and 14th conventions) is not available.

- 2- Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 1- New York (100-80641 sub B) (CP, USA-Organization-17th National Convention)
- 1- New York (100-111666) (JACK SHULMAN) (415)
- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1- New York (100-80641) (415)

JVW:gms  
(6)

100-56579-3397

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
415 JUN 11 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. P. Quinn*

NY 100-80641

NY 2010-S\* has reported that on 6/1/59, SHULMAN related to BART that a representative of Central Plaza showed him his place was booked up and SHULMAN remarked:

"It may be so - maybe he has other things and he didn't care to get messed up with us".

Referring to the caterer at the Broadway Central, SHULMAN said:

"So he laughed when I told him who it was for. He wouldn't consider it at all".

FBI

DATE: 4 JUN 1959

TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING IN  
(Plain Text or Code)

VIA AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
Cinal

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING  
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY  
A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
- 2 - Chicago (INFO)(RM)
  - (1- 100- ) (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - NY (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR)(416)
- 1 - NY (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-105078) (HY LUMER)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-16785) (JAMES J. JACKSON, JR.)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-91330) ( ) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-97167) (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-79717) (CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-80641) (415)

JAC:KMI  
(19)

100-56579-3398

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 4 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. P. Quinn*

NY 100-80641

On 6/2/59, NY 2359-S\* advised that the regularly scheduled meeting of the Resident NEC, CP, USA, and invited guests was held in the Third Floor Board Room, CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date.

EUGENE DENNIS was Chairman and among those present with DENNIS were:

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
HY LUMER  
JAMES J. JACKSON, JR.  
JACK STACHEL

b6  
b7c

ARNOLD JOHNSON  
IRVING POTASH, and  
PHIL BART.

The meeting opened with a discussion of an unsigned review of MARTIN LUTHER KING'S book. The review was one which had apparently been submitted for publication in "Political Affairs." JAMES JACKSON pointed out that the review was incomplete in its treatment of the book and has no place in a Party publication. He said that if such an article is printed it would be a tremendous mistake and could do a great deal of damage to Party work and prestige. FLYNN, LUMER, and JACKSON were in agreement on this point. LUMER noted that the review was a "one-sided approach" and JACKSON commented that he felt that the review is not Marxist in nature and, therefore, should not be published in a Marxist publication.

[redacted] described KING'S book as being of value in that its main feature dealt with the Montgomery Bus Boycott. He noted, however, that the chapter "On His Philosophy" was unfortunate and presumptuous because it did not strengthen the book or furnish an adequate contribution to the Negro People's Movement.

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NY 100-80641

BEN DAVIS said that with respect to KING'S activity on behalf of the Negro race, the Party has to participate, support, influence, sacrifice for, and help KING reach his objectives in every way possible.

[redacted] and IRVING POTASH were of the opinion that a more extended review of KING'S book should be written by JAMES JACKSON. The discussion on this point concluded with a proposal by JAMES JACKSON that the anonymous review submitted for "Political Affairs" not be published and that further discussion be held on "true Negro issues."

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IRVING POTASH next gave a report on his recent trip to Chicago. He described it as valuable because it gave him the opportunity to come "face to face with the workers." During his discussion, POTASH mentioned only one union, that being the Packing House Workers, however, due to his frequent use of the blackboard, the informant was unable to determine whether his subsequent reference to a union or his discussion concerning Party clubs was related to the Packing House Workers' Union. POTASH mentioned that there was good distribution of "The Worker" and of other Party literature on the club level. He remarked that in general all clubs were "good functioning clubs." He stated that he had observed that there was a need for the Party to "advance a line of action" for both the workers and "the union", and that an effort should also be made to avoid an "open laceration" between the two. According to POTASH "the workers" are mad and confused about many things, such as union leadership, grievances, and the theory of inflation. He pointed out that there was collaboration between Negro and white workers and that some of the Negro members are active in the community.

NY 100-80641

The next point on the agenda was concerned with the resolution for the forthcoming National Convention. DENNIS said that among the topics to be included in this resolution are the following:

1. A section dealing with the national and international situation and the struggle for peace.
2. Monopoly and American Imperialism and the dangers they create.
3. The National Liberation Movement.
4. The political situation in the country and the growth of political reaction.
5. Civil liberties.
6. The necessity of a nation-wide democratic front for peace.
7. Unity of struggle within the Negro Labor Alliance with emphasis on the role of the left.
8. The 1960 elections in terms of building a democratic alliance and approaching concretely the necessity of defeating the Dixiecrats, and the election of peace candidates Negroes, and trade unionists.
9. A special section on the PARKER lynching case.
10. A section dealing with the vanguard role of the Party and some of the important tasks on the ideological front.



NY 100-80641

BEN DAVIS said that he felt the NEC should see to it that the National Convention projects something that will inspire the re-establishment of "The Daily Worker".

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN emphasized the fact that inner-Party problems should not appear in the resolution. She recommended that the resolution be written in "popular language" rather than Party terminology.

DENNIS indicated that the resolution should include such perspectives as ending the cold war, ending JIM CROW and achieving peaceful co-existence. DENNIS moved for the approval of the outline of the resolution and there was apparently no objection.

Date received <b>5/28/59</b>	Received from (name or symbol number) <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; display: inline-block;"></div> b7D	Received by <b>SA JOHN A. HAAG</b>
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> in person <input type="checkbox"/> by telephone <input type="checkbox"/> by mail <input type="checkbox"/> orally <input type="checkbox"/> recording device <input type="checkbox"/> written by Informant		
If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: <div style="margin-left: 40px;">Date _____</div> Dictated _____ to _____  Transcribed _____  Authenticated by Informant _____		Date of Report  <b>EXHIBIT</b>  Date(s) of activity  <b>Current</b>
Brief description of activity or material  <b><u>Letter setting out agenda for 7/25, 26/59</u></b> <b><u>NC meeting from "PHIL BART, National Org.</u></b> <b><u>Secy."</u></b>		File where original is located if not attached  <b>NY 100-80641-18477</b>
Remarks:		

b7D

1 - NY  (INV) (41)  
a 1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (422)  
1 - NY 100-80641 (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (415)

JAH:msb  
(3)

Block Stamp

100-56579-3399

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED <u>not</u>	FILED <u>all</u>
<b>JUN 9 1959</b>	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. P. Quinn*

SAC, BOSTON

6/8/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-50448)

HOMER BATES CHASE  
SM-C

On 5/29/59, NY 2002-S\*, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available photographs of material located at CP National Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC. Included in this material, a copy of which is attached hereto, was:

"Box 52  
Washington, N.H.  
May 27, 1959

"Dear Phil,

"Good to hear from you. It is unfortunate that no one could come from New York to the enlarged D.C. meeting here. My note to Arnold merely confirmed our invitation which had been given at the last N.C.

"We will do our best for the dates you mentioned. Please let us know when you are arriving-- on what train--and we'll meet you. We expect you either late afternoon or early evening on the 12th.

"Will you please tell Hy that no one will be in for the youth meeting? The main reason for this is that we are still in a primitive org. state from which we are all too slowly emerging.

"Sincerely,

"/s/ Homer"

- 2 - Boston (RM)  
(1- 100- ) (CPUSA - NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT)  
1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1 - NY (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)  
1 - NY (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)  
1 - NY (100-80644) (CPUSA - YOUTH MATTERS) (415)  
1 - NY (100-50448)

JWH:KTH

100-56579-3400

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 8 1959	
H. F. Quinn	

SAC, NEW YORK (100-105078)

6/8/59

SA

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b7C

HY LUMER  
IS-C

Care must utilized in the handling and reporting of the following information since the very nature of this information tends to identify a highly placed and sensitive informant.

On 5/29/59, NY 2392-S\* advised that on this date HY LUMER, told JAMES JACKSON that if he was thinking of writing a pamphlet, he should do it soon so as not to lose the impact of your being at the 21st Congress. If you wait too long, it will be September before you get it to the district. GEORGE (MORRIS?) has just finished (a pamphlet ?) and New Century (publisher) will bring it out because no one including JIM (ALLEN ?) know when "TRACHTY" (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) is coming back.

LUMER further remarked that he, BETTY (possibly BANNETT), JIM (possibly ALLEN) and PHIL (BART) are starting a publications program for the Party.

Continuing informant advised that later on the same day HY LUMER in conversation with JAMES JACKSON commented that he was thinking of putting out a pamphlet with excerpts from the KHRUSHCHEV report plus excerpts from other important speeches at the Congress (21st Congress of CPSU) with an introduction by one of "us". JACKSON said that they could get the "original" ~~chapter~~ <sup>chapter</sup>. LUMER said they have put out about 5 or 6,000 copies of the KHRUSHCHEV report but if a pamphlet could be put out, it could be used as a broader type of circulation.

The above is set out for information purpose.

1-NY (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)  
1-NY (100-81675) (CPUSA-Pamphlet and Publication) (415)  
1-NY (100-21421) (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) (415)  
1-NY (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (422).  
1-NY (100-32826) (JIM ALLEN) (411)  
1-NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1-NY (100-105078)

HCG:plr  
(7)

100-56579-340

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JUN 9 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. Lumer*

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-102)      DATE: 6/8/59

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-128861)(415)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - FUNDS ( RESERVE FUNDS)  
IS - C

On 6/2/59, NY 694-S\* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that in a conversation on 6/1/59 with ISIDORE WOF SY, the latter told him the following:

Bids up to \$325,000.00 for the purchase of the building at 35 East 12 Street have been received. As many bids as possible will be received, and the highest will be accepted. CHARLES KELNER, who desires to buy the building, will be told that he may purchase the building at a price equal to the highest bid, provided payment be guaranteed.

WOF SY stated that during the past few weeks he had been given \$14,000.00 by EUGENE DENNIS, and that this money had been "a life-saver." The money, he said, was not for the Reserve Fund, but rather was to be given, as needed, to PHIL BART for the

4 - Bureau	(100-3-102)(RM)
	(1-100-428091)(SOLO)
	(1-100-3-81)(CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
2 - Chicago	(134-46-Sub I)(SOLO)(INFO)(RM)
	(1-134-46)(CG 5824-S)
1 - NY 134-91	(INV)(415)
1 - NY 100-134637	(SOLO)(415)
1 - NY 100-128314	(CPUSA - NYD - FUNDS)(416)
1 - NY 100-70303	(TWELFTH-THIRTEENTH REALTY CORP.)(41)
1 - NY 100-64424	(CHARLES KELNER)(424)
1 - NY 100-56579	(PHIL BART)(422)
1 - NY 100-19679	(ISIDORE WOF SY)(415)
1 - NY 100-8057	(EUGENE DENNIS)(415)
1 - NY 100-23825	(BENJAMIN J. DAVIS)(416)
1 - NY 100-129629	(WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(416)
1 - NY 100-84275	(WILLIAM PATTERSON)(415)
1 - NY 100-	(MILTON FRIEDMAN)(33)
1 - NY 100-86624	(CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(415)
1 - NY 97-169	(PUBLISHER'S NEW PRESS)(415)
1 - NY 100-128861	(415)

ACB:msb  
(21)

100-56579-3402

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 10 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	
H. P. Dunn	

NY 100-128861

payment of National Office expenses. WOFSY stated he did not know where DENNIS had obtained this money, and expressed the opinion that it might have come in "quietly" from the CP fund drive. (NY 694-S\* stated that he did not think WOFSY actually believes the money came from the fund drive since the latter must be aware that the fund drive is a failure.)

NY 694-S\* stated that the \$14,000.00 is undoubtedly part of the funds described in the case entitled "SOLO, IS - C." The informant noted that in accordance with DENNIS' method of distributing the "SOLO, IS - C" funds, neither WOFSY, PHIL BART, nor any other CP functionary knows whence money they receive from DENNIS is coming.

WOFSY further remarked that PHIL BART is clashing with the NY State CP regarding "the split" of money received from the fund drive and donors by the NY State CP. BART and DENNIS would like a fifty-fifty "split," but in WOFSY's opinion, the NY State CP would never agree to such an arrangement. WOFSY believes the National Office could obtain--and should accept, since it cannot hope to obtain more--40 per cent as its "split."

WOFSY also stated that the NY State CP finally has negotiated a settlement of its debt of \$23,000.00 by a payment to the National Office of \$6,000.00.

WOFSY expressed the opinion that in view of the fact that dues payments to the NY State CP are negligible, the said state organization must have a large reserve fund "somewhere," and that both WILLIAM ALBERTSON and BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., must have knowledge of this fund. He also thought EUGENE DENNIS might know something of such a fund.

According to WOFSY, WILLIAM PATTERSON was recently "called in by the top brass" and told "to lay off his business enterprises." As a result of PATTERSON's "pushing at the embassies" and "MILTON FRIEDMAN's going to Hungary," they obtained "a \$15,000.00 retainer from Hungary." From this money, FRIEDMAN paid himself \$5,000.00 in legal fees. The Party believes PATTERSON "took a chunk for himself," and may have given some to "The Worker."

The Party feels that this situation may result in a scandal, and has assigned PHIL BART to investigate the matter. WOFSY believes that BART, MORRIS CHILDS of Chicago, and he should confer regarding this situation.

SAC, CLEVELAND

6/8/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

CP, USA-ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

Care must be utilized in the handling and reporting of the following information since the very nature of this information tends to identify a highly placed and sensitive informant.

On 5/19/59, NY 232-S\* advised that on this date an individual believed to be PHIL BART had an informal discussion with EUGENE DENNIS in the latter's office, CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., NYC.

DENNIS commented that he wanted GUS (HALL?) to be present at the NEC and the NC meetings. He asked (BART?) if it would make any difference to him if the NC meeting was postponed until the weekend of the 25th (July) instead of the 19th (July).

BART said he favored the postponement as it will give more time to prepare the reports. Continuing BART said the convention should be the first week in (December?) and the State Convention could be held two weeks prior to that. He then asked DENNIS if he had spoken to JIM (ALLEN?) regarding his report.

DENNIS said that he had given him his ideas on the resolution---. The whole resolution should be in 3 sections, about 2500 words:

1. Current situation
2. Immediate Program of Action
3. Theoretical Aspects of Negro Question

2 - Cleveland (info?) (RM)  
1 - NY (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)  
1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1 - NY (100-32826) (JIM ALLEN) (415)  
1 - NY (100-84994) (GUS HALL)  
1 - NY (100-80641)

HCO:gak  
(7)

100-80579-3403

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 8 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	
H. P. Quinn	

NY 100-80641

Informant noted that at this point both DENNIS and BART utilized the added security of the blackboard and this information was not available to the informant.

Continuing informant advised that DENNIS then apparently discussed the agenda for the forthcoming full NEC, CP, USA meeting as follows:

1. Constitution
2. Negro Resolution
3. NEC Report
4. Outline of Main Political Resolution



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York (66-6182)

DATE: June 10, 1959

✓ FROM : Director, FBI (100-3284)(100-3-108)

SUBJECT: PHILIP BART — 100-56579  
IS-C  
SA-40COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
TOP LEADERSHIP PROGRAM - 100-138296  
IS-C

Reurlet 6-3-59 bearing the Bart caption.

In accordance with your recommendation, the investigation of Bart should be immediately intensified in accordance with the provisions of the Top Leadership Program. All available sources and techniques must be considered in connection with this intensified investigation so that you will be assured that you are obtaining all pertinent data regarding the Communist Party (CP) activities and contacts of Bart. This investigation must be carefully evaluated from time to time to assure that it is serving the purpose for which it is being initiated.

You will submit a weekly summary to the Bureau setting forth the pertinent information obtained on Bart similar to those summaries now being submitted on the other CP functionaries included in this program.

cc  
100-138296100-56579-3404  
H. P. Quinn

FBI

Date: 6/10/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL RM  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Remyairtel dated 6/9/59.

- 3- Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 1- Baltimore (100- GEORGE MEYERS) (Info) (RM)
- 3- Chicago (61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (Info) (RM)
  - (1- 100- MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1- 134-46) (CG 5824-S)
- 2- Cleveland (100- GUS HALL) (Info) (RM)
  - (1- 100- ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
- 1- Detroit (100- GUS HALL) (Info) (RM)
- 2- Newark (100- PAT TOOHEY) (Info) (RM) b7D
  - (1- [redacted])
- 1- San Francisco (65-1242) ("MICKIE" LIMA) (Info) (RM)
- 1- Seattle (100- BERT NELSON) (Info) (RM)
- 1- New York (66-6989) (CG 5824-S) (415)
- 1- New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- 1- New York (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS) (416)
- 1- New York (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
- 1- New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (422)
- 1- New York (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1- New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (416)
- 1- New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1- New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-80641) (415)

ACB:gms  
(27)

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

Sent M

100-57579-3405

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SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 10 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H.P. Quinn*

AIRTEL

NY 100-80641

UTMOST CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION HEREIN INASMUCH AS THE INFORMATION, BY ITS NATURE, TENDS TO IDENTIFY CG 5824-S A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE THEREOF.

On 6/10/59 CG 5824-S advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON as follows:

The first day's session of the Full NEC, CPUSA was held at CP headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, NYC on 6/9/59. Present at said meeting were the following CP functionaries: EUGENE DENNIS, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr., ELIZABETH FLYNN, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, GUS HALL, PHIL BART, MORRIS CHILDS, JACK STACHEL, IRVING POTASH, CARL WINTER, BERT NELSON, JIM JACKSON, BILL ALBERTSON, ANTHONY KROCHMAREK, PAT TOOHEY, HY LUMER, "MICKIE" LIMA, and ARNOLD JOHNSON. The informant noted that GEORGE MEYERS of Baltimore was absent.

The agenda at the meeting included the following:

(1) JACK STACHEL led a discussion, joined in by the majority of those present, of the recent Supreme Court decisions.

(2) PHIL BART submitted a sub-committee's report on the CP constitution.

(3) HY LUMER reported on the present economic situation in the USA.

An outline of the discussion at the meeting of the Supreme Court decisions will appear in the next edition of "The Worker".

The discussion of the Supreme Court decisions reflected that the NEC regards them as a definite threat to the CP in that they in effect reverse the decisions in the WATKINS and NELSON cases, will adversely affect all pending CP cases, and tend to "define" the CP in a manner injurious to the Party.

AIRTEL

NY 100-80641

The decisions endanger not only the Communist Party but "the civil liberties of all the people". It is ironical that the decisions have been made after the 1958 elections when the people voted against reactionism, and at a time when the government refuses to act in the MACK CHARLES PARKER lynching case. The action of the court is due to its own weakness, to the effect upon it of the international situation, the restlessness of labor, and problems affecting negroes.

The Party must stir the people to action. They must be convinced that these court rulings are injurious not only to the CP, but to the people in general. They must be reminded that in the past the people went en masse to Washington to fight repressive legislation. The Party must rely on a mass struggle of the people against these decisions, and plan how to use the mass strength of the people in this regard. The Party must issue "a call for action".

The Party must contact important people - particularly lawyers - in an effort to organize all kinds of groups to expose the Supreme Court as "a class court". The dissenting opinions must be publicized in pamphlets to be given wide distribution, and a special campaign must be organized to expose Justice TOM CLARK as an enemy of civil rights.

PHIL BART's report on the CP constitution, and the subsequent discussion thereof, resulted in a decision to remove from the CP constitution whatever had been inserted by "the revisionists". Democratic centralism will be restored. CP leaders will be elected at conventions. This procedure will be in effect on both National and District levels. Great care must be exercised lest anything "which the government can use against us" be inserted in the constitution. In this regard the rulings of the Supreme Court must be kept in mind.

The constitution must not appear to be a new one, but rather an amended one. Should it appear to be a new

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NY 100-80641

constitution; it would unduly arouse the interest of the government, and possibly "scare" the CP membership, who might believe it threatened their "rights".

According to the informant HY LUMER's report on the economic situation in the USA was too detailed for him to report thereon at this time. Inasmuch as it is not of immediate interest to the Bureau, he will furnish a report concerning it at a later date.

CG 5824-S stated that the agenda for 6/10/59 would include a discussion of the Negro Resolutions, and possibly - if there should be time for it - a discussion of the 1960 elections.

The informant also advised that in two weeks the sub-committee on the constitution must have prepared a draft of the proposed CP constitution, which is to further discussed at resident NEC, full NEC, and NC meetings, respectively, prior to the CP National Convention.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-7908)

FROM : SA LEO M. MCGINN

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT  
IS - C

DATE: 6/10/59

From: [REDACTED]

Concealment and  
Reliability:BS T- , who has furnished  
reliable information in the  
pastDate and  
Description:Enlarged District Committee meetin  
CP, USA, New England District,  
5/17/59, Roxbury, Mass. b7D

Date Received:

5/19/59(orally) authenticated  
5/28/59

Received by:

SA LEO M. MCGINN

Location: [REDACTED]

In view of the sensitivity of this informant, the utmost care must be utilized to carefully paraphrase this information prior to dissemination in order to protect the identity of this informant.

Informant's report, dated May 19, 1959, follows:

OK  
cc: (2) New York (RM)  
(100-  
(100-

PHILIP BART  
JACK GREEN

45 - Boston (100-7908)

[REDACTED] ERNEST AUDET)

b7D

[REDACTED] HOMER B. CHASE)

(See page 1-A for remainder of copies)

LMM:cm  
(47)

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H.P. Quinn

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 11 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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man

BS 100-7908

Copies: (Cont.)

Boston

100-16028	ANN CHASE
100-16135	ROBERT FISHER
100-19158	SOL FISHER
100-11772	ROBERT GOODWIN
100-313	LEWIS GORDON
100-32392	GREATER BOSTON COMMITTEE FOR A SANE NUCLEAR POLICY
100-568	OTIS HOOD
100-18576	JOHN HOVAN
100-22939	LEW JOHNSON
100-14569	Mrs. LEW JOHNSON
100-12543	
100-12138	BEN LANDEY
100-875	HAROLD LEWENGRUB
100-	REV. WARREN McKENNA
100-535	ELBA CHASE NELSON
100-14635	JAMES REX
100-547	ANNE BURLAK TIMPSON
62-3792	YOUTH MARCH ON WASHINGTON
100-28488	ARAM ZARTARIAN
100-32354	CP - ATTEMPTS TO INFILTRATE MASS ORGANIZATIONS
100-20779	CP - ORGANIZATION
100-20778	CP - MEMBERSHIP
100-16191	CP - FUNDS
100-31648	CP - COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-20787	CP - FACTIONALISM
100-20785	CP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
100-16410	CP - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
100-19374	CP - LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES
100-23165	CP - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES
100-26893	CP - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
100-24111	CP - NEGRO QUESTION
100-20781	CP - YOUTH MATTERS
100-18169	CP - PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
100-31935	CP - SOUTH SHORE
100-18058	CP - RHODE ISLAND
100-18023	CP - WATERTOWN
100-32645	CP - ARMENIAN
100-18969	CP - NORTH SHORE
100-26827	FREEDOM OF PRESS ASSOCIATION
100-1424	NAACP

b6  
b7C

"May 19, 1959

"On Sunday, May 17, 1959, an Enlarged District Committee meeting was held at the home of LEW JOHNSON, Roxbury, Massachusetts. ELSIE PIPER turned in \$65.00 to ANNE TIMPSON which had been collected by ELSIE, as follows: \$5.00 from ELSIE PIPER; \$25.00 from [redacted] \$25.00 from SOL FISHER; \$15.00 from LEW GORDON. ELSIE wrote the names and amount given by each on an envelope which she later gave to BOB GOODWIN to give to MILLIE GOODWIN for her records. BOB GOODWIN was present when ELSIE gave ANNE the money.

b6  
b7C

"The meeting, which was in the form of a District Conference, was held to discuss some of the problems facing the Communist Party in New England, namely: (1) A full time Organizer; (2) Fund raising; (3) A public spokesman; (4) A mailing address.

"This conference was attended by regular District Committee members and other individuals who had been designated as delegates from the various sections. Those in attendance were:

"HOMER CHASE

ELBA CHASE NELSON, HOMER's mother, extra delegate

ERNIE AUDET, from New Bedford

JOE COSTA, from New Bedford, extra delegate

JIM REX, from New Bedford, extra delegate

Either LARRY or HARRY, delegate from Quincy.

He appeared to be in his early 50's, about 5' 7", possibly 160 pounds, black hair mixed with grey, eyeglasses - white gold rimmed, huge brown eyes, compact build -- not paunchy, fairly trim, sort of long oval face with jowls that drooped a little.

LEW JOHNSON

ELSIE PIPER, North Shore



BS 100-7900

"BOB GOODWIN, North Shore

b6  
b7C

extra delegate

LEW GORDON, extra delegate

ANNE TIMPSON

ANNE CHASE, extra delegate, from  
Brookline and Braintree

BOB FISHER, from Revere. Said he belonged to  
the City Committee, and stayed only for  
half the day -- left at noon

HAROLD LEWENGRUB, regular District Committee member,  
representing area PHIL KORITZ left - Dorchester

AARON, delegate from Watertown, who represented an  
Armenian group of six people in Watertown.  
Appeared to be in his 70's, bald, about 5' 7"  
or 5' 8", not too heavy, very nice complexion -  
fine skin, very neat and clean. Last name  
started with either "S" or "Z" -- SAKORIAN  
or ZATORIAN (phonetic).

BEN LANDEY

OTIS HOOD

JOHN HOVAN, from Fall River

BOBBIE JOHNSON was at home but did not participate  
in the meeting.

"HOMER gave a report on the last National Committee  
meeting he had attended. He reported there were still  
some differences of opinion in the National setup as to  
how we should work, and that we had to organize something  
around the youth. He said there were many things within  
the Party that had not been resolved. Besides the things  
we had to resolve in our area, there were also things to  
be resolved nationally. The National Committee had not  
come up with a policy on Hungary, and that we were just  
beginning to develop a policy on the negro question.

"HOMER reported on some of the things we had to concern ourselves with in our immediate area: First the style of the organization and ways to finance it. He said we had arrived at the point where the rapid deterioration of the organization had stopped, that since he had become Organizer steps had been taken to stem people moving away from the organization. He thought that with the newly developed unity we could discuss things again. He said that as badly as we had been hit in New England, we did not begin to suffer the losses California and other areas which he did not want to mention had suffered.

"HOMER said we had to move further along the road to rebuilding the organization. He said we had to begin to discuss some of the issues we were faced with and that one of the most crucial at the moment was the Berlin situation. He advised everyone to read KHRUSHCHEV's report on the 21st Congress, and mentioned that in the United States a great deal of newsworthy information was being withheld from the American public relating to Berlin and other situations. He pointed out that in regard to the Youth March on Washington, there had been practically no newspaper write-ups along the Eastern seaboard, yet more people had gone to Washington on this march than on the Hunger March in the 1930's. There was almost a complete lack of information on this, all designed by the Capitalists to keep the public from knowing about such things.

"He mentioned an article in the Saturday, May 16, 1959 'Herald' by PHINNEY (phonetic), and suggested we all read it.

"HOMER said that there is a great deal of resistance facing the American workers today.

"HOMER said that among the positive things we had accomplished was the growing resistance to taxes. He said we had also been active in the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. He said there were many great movements taking place among the American people, and although we were only a part and not instrumental in their initiation we should nevertheless be very alert to strengthen them. He described the Sane Nuclear Committee as a movement for peace. He said we had something, but not too much, to do with it.

"The Peace March on Washington was something we did not give as much support to as we should. It was a mass movement and yet we did not give too much to it. He said the atmosphere is different than it was twenty years ago, and now movements are taking place without our starting them. This peace movement was started by the NAACP whereas at one time we were practically the leader in any fight for the negro. He said now the negroes themselves were starting things, and we should support them. We had been able to get a few of our white youth into the march, but had given it little other support.

"He also said the Party gave very little support as a whole in the fight against BATISTA.

"HOMER said that for several years now we have not spoken to non-left organizations and pointed out that international solidarity with other Socialist minded peoples require that we tackle peace as an international question. He stressed that the National Committee had not taken a stand on Hungary, and blamed this on the internal struggle going on in the National Committee at the time. He said because of a certain lack of unity they are just now beginning to formulate an approach to the negro question. He said the National Committee had no real line against BATISTA and as yet had not tackled the Jewish question. He said the capitalists were using the Jewish question as sort of a smoke screen to cover up the re-Nazification of Germany. He thought that a lot of our Jewish comrades were being led astray on the Jewish question.

"Someone, believed to be ANNE TIMPSON, brought out that even the Jewish newspapers were being eliminated in the USSR, and that there appeared to be no possibility of a Jewish nation being established in the USSR. HOMER said there was no real basis for the establishment of a Jewish nation in the Soviet Union, although this was contrary to the way some of the Jewish comrades felt, and that there had never been an attempt to establish a Jewish nation in the USSR. HOMER thought we should tackle in our clubs an understanding of international solidarity. He said one of our biggest assets in our efforts towards peace would be our understanding of international solidarity.

"According to HOMER we had to develop the possibility of having a spokesman for the Party, someone who could go out and speak to non-left groups in the name of the Party. We also had to get a mailing address. On a Club level he recommended the complete study of KHRUSHCHEV's report, and that in order to increase our understanding of the negro liberation movement taking place recommended a discussion of JACKSON's report on the Negro Liberation Movement appearing in the May issue of 'Political Affairs.'

"HOMER felt that the Party still had certain ideological difficulties, that the Administrative Committee itself had been weak in leading a discussion on the negro question. He said, however, that on the more positive side the National Committee is developing a line on youth and is moving on the Youth question. He said there would be a document on youth published very soon by the National Committee. He said the National Committee had also discussed the possibility of members joining autonomous defense organizations in their areas and that there would be more thought developed on this.

"HOMER mentioned that when he took over, the New England Party had been declining. He said, however, that the upper Dorchester area was now beginning to meet, and that there was now more out-of-town activity going on. He mentioned that the GOODWIN affair had taken place with ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN as a speaker. He said this was a very positive thing, that it had established many social contacts. He thought that the District Committee had been correct in putting on a full-timer, and that the Convention erred in doing away with one. HOMER said he, himself, would vote for a full-timer, that a National Convention was scheduled this fall, and that retaining a full-timer would strengthen the Party.

"JIM REX wanted to know that if HOMER were not the full-timer, would that represent a loss to him? HOMER said he did not want to put himself in a position of applying for the job or eliminating anyone else, but that so far as his finances were concerned he did not think he would suffer any financial loss. He said that in fact he might be better off financially not being the Organizer. JIM REX said that was all he wanted to know.

"HAROLD LEWENGRUB spoke. He said he would vote for an Organizer. He said that HOMER during his six months had helped resolve and raise the understanding of people who now pay more attention to the workings of the Party. He also felt that we needed something else in our organization, a corps of people who would dedicate their time and effort to the Party. HAROLD thought we should try to develop a corps of people who would get around and handle some of the loose ends which the Organizer has to bother with. He said his group was practically united on having an Organizer.

"ANNE TIMPSON asked HAROLD how much money his group turned in and how much he raised. She said he should be realistic about it.

"ANNE gave a breakdown of the funds. As of today she said she had received \$125.00 from the North Shore. When the North Shore delegates took issue with her she checked her records and said she had received \$155.00 from the North Shore. ANNE said that we had to have \$5,000 by July 1st at which time HAROLD took issue with her and wanted to know if that was the actual minimum amount needed. ANNE said we needed:

"\$1,500 for 'The Worker'

\$1,000 for the National Office.

\$1,000 to pay for a full-timer to carry us  
through the summer

\$1,000 for education work, pamphlets, etc.

"HAROLD asked if we could do away with the \$1,000 for education and withhold at this time the \$1,000 from the National Office. ANNE said when you had a fund drive you raised enough money to carry you through. She did not see how we could withhold \$1,000 from the National Office or withhold the \$1,500 to 'The Worker.' She said the \$5,000 represented the actual minimum figure we had to have by July 1st. HAROLD questioned her about a donation in the amount of \$750.00 that she had received. She said the \$750.00 had come from an individual who had given her \$500.00 last year and when he gave her the \$750.00

"this year he told her he did not want to see her again until next spring. She said the sum represented his entire donation for the year, and that we could use only part of it at this time. She said we did not have too many people like that to count on, that we had a few sustainers who gave certain amounts every week or month, but we did not have enough of them. She said that quite realistically the \$1,500 for 'The Worker' was for their spring drive and we had to consider that in the fall they might ask for more. She said she would like to hear from the areas and hear what they had decided to do and how much they had raised. She said before talking about wanting a full-timer, we should have a better idea as to whether we can support one or not. She asked HAROLD, 'Now, if all of your people want a full-timer, how much money have you turned in?' HAROLD said he was not prepared to answer. ANNE said, 'Actually, how much money have you turned in from the people who want a full-timer?' She said he had turned in just about \$35.00.

"OTIS spoke. He said he just wanted to report that there had been a break in our enforced isolation -- the ice had been broken. He said he had been asked to speak very soon before a young Republican group, possibly from Brookline, on the subject, 'Can You Trust the Communists?' He said it had been many years since he had spoken before a non-left group.

"BEN from Sharon said he was in agreement that there should be a full-timer. He said that in Sharon they had done some work. The women had decided that the men were too dominant in the field and had gotten out and formed a women's group. They met about every two weeks on a Thursday afternoon. They discussed things. Some of the women want to be in the Party and pay dues and some who used to be in the Party were not sure they wanted to be in the Party but would still come to discussion groups. This group of women had been able to get WARREN McKENNA to speak before them. By getting McKENNA they had been able to develop a little interest in the town.

"ANNE spoke again. She said that the struggle for peace was the key issue throughout the world and that the Communist Party should be trying more to expose American imperialism and just what it is doing in regard to Germany. She recommended that everyone read APTHEKER's article in 'Political Affairs.' She also referred to the last issue of 'The Worker' as having an article showing that we did not necessarily have to defend the USSR but what we needed to do was to expose the imperialist forces who were going back on their agreement regarding Germany. We could work for a Germany but not a revised Nazi-type Germany. She proposed that we should consider maintaining a local position, that is, we should approach the thing on just what can be done in this area. She brought out that around the lynching in the South we could issue material locally. 'The Worker' is getting out a flyer on that on the 24th of May and proposed that we also use material in the last issue of 'The Worker' in a flyer to distribute among people on the German question. She also thought we should consider again requesting the National Committee or the 'Political Affairs' to publish five hundred copies of APTHEKER's article on Germany. She thought actually the article in the last 'Worker,' May 17, 1959, was the best material on the Berlin situation. She did not think all of us had a chance to read it as yet.

"OTIS HOOD said we should be improving the quality of our vanguard role and try to reject our isolation from the working class. We should try to multiply means to work with people and should look into the KENNEDY bill. We should be concerning ourselves with Germany, and that we should be discussing Germany in the District Committee, as APTHEKER's article stated. We should not repeat the mistakes of the past but should try to recapture the spirit of the past. In times past we played a different role than today. There are great movements taking place. We are going to have to develop a plan whereby we can work with these movements but not necessarily as the instigator of them.

"The man from Watertown spoke. He said an organization such as ours needs a paid Organizer. He felt we should have an Organizer and should be paying more attention to our organizational structure. If we had a good organizational structure we would be able to work on more of these issues.

BS 100-7908

"He said he represented six people in his group and that they all agreed that there should be a paid Organizer.

"JOHN HOVAN said there were local political developments taking place. In Rhode Island, labor was blasting the Democrats for their failures. He thought that labor should be playing an independent role to influence the Democratic Party and we had to build our party in order to develop the independence of labor. In his area he said there was complete agreement that the District needs an Organizer and the fact that the money is not forthcoming is rather baffling.

b6  
b7C

[ ] said that in her club they had discussed these issues and they were in complete agreement that we need an Organizer. In regard to youth they had discussed the matter and agreed rather than our organizing something for the youth we should get the youth together on a social basis and let the youth themselves decide what form their organization should take. We should not go back to the YCL or anything that would drive the youth from us. She said that they also had discussed the negro question and had been able to work with the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy on the North Shore. She said that this organization was broadening itself all the time and have had several meetings and speakers.

"ELSIE asked to speak. She said that the other comrade from her club had spoken on the issues that had been discussed but that she wanted for ANNE's sake to mention their recent discussion of funds in her club on the North Shore. She said they had accepted their quota of \$500.00 and had even discussed raising their quota to \$650.00. She felt that the North Shore at least would be able to produce what was required of them and probably more. ANNE did not think \$500.00 was the quota. ELSIE asked ANNE to check her records, that \$500.00 was the quota.

"ANNE said that regarding an Organizer we had to ask ourselves, 'Are we in a position to have a full-timer?' She said we needed to make a review of previous problems regarding funds. HOMER said that he had been talking to Comrade BEN and that there were many ways we could raise funds, such as the old type home party. HOMER said he



BS 100-7908

"understood that JEAN and BEN from Sharon were celebrating their 25th Anniversary and that they would be very happy to have a fund raising party on this occasion. In two or three weeks people would be notified of this.

"ANNE proposed that the National Office or 'Political Affairs' reprint APTHEKER's article, and that 'The Worker' print a supplement on Germany. This was unanimous.

"Also the question of HOMER moving from New Hampshire was discussed if we voted for him as the Organizer. HOMER wanted us to vote for the acceptance of his report, which, according to him, would mean that we voted for his proposals.

"It was proposed that we endorse the perspective of a full-timer, and then raise the necessary funds. It was decided to table the question of HOMER continuing as the Organizer until they have had an opportunity to discuss his moving and other matters with his wife.

"A proposal was made that HOMER be retained as a full-timer, that \$5,000 be raised by July 1st, and that we have a Post Office Box and a spokesman. This proposal was withdrawn because they decided they wanted to take up a discussion of HOMER's report before accepting it. ELBA CHASE NELSON said she had never been to a meeting where the report had not been accepted.

"We endorsed the principle of continuing a full-timer. There was one abstention on that, ANNE TIMPSON.

"We endorsed the quota of \$5,000 by July 1st and \$8,500.00 by the end of the year. There was one abstention on that, ANNE TIMPSON.

"A proposal was made to instruct the Administrative Committee to take up the question of a Post Office Box in the name of the Communist Party of New England. That was unanimous. There was a technicality discussed and that was whether the State of Massachusetts might interfere with the Party having a Post Office Box. If we had a Post Office Box in the name of the Communist Party of New England it might be a Federal rather than a State matter. HOMER made the statement we had better consult some of our legal men on that. He said they had previously discussed having a Post Office Box for 'The

BS 100-7908

"Worker' but that was a different matter.

"HAROLD proposed that we accept HOMER's report. There was one abstention, and that was OTIS.

"It was proposed we thank BOBBIE and LEW for their home and this was unanimous. HOMER mentioned that the Organizational Secretary would be in from New York on or about June 21, and mentioned the name of PHIL BART. The next District Committee meeting is to be held June 21st. It is expected BART would come in around that time.

"It was also proposed that the Administrative Committee be instructed to set up a series of discussions on the proposals in HOMER's report, and that was unanimous.

"There is to be a local youth conference at the end of May.

"ANNE raised the point again that we had been asked to make contributions for a fund for JACK GREEN who is dying of cancer. The fund is being raised to send his children off to camp so that his wife can devote all her time to him.

"Before we made the proposals ELSIE asked for the floor. She said she realized the North Shore was not faced with some of the problems that other areas had, but that she was curious in view of all those who wanted a full-timer as to just why the necessary money wasn't coming in. If these people are considered politically developed their development needs to be re-evaluated from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. She asked why they didn't exercise a little more self-discipline or self-denial in getting these funds. No comment was made to this.

"Also, LEW GORDON had reported that his club in Lynn had voted unanimously for a full time Organizer. He further felt that labor should be involved more in the question of peace.

BS 100-7908

"During lunch and while ANNE was talking to ELSIE and BOBBIE JOHNSON in the kitchen, ANNE said she disagreed with HOMER in that she did not feel we had to accept everything that Russia did as correct. Her feeling was that this was what we were fighting against in the United States. She said this is where she disagrees with HOMER, and where she and OTIS differed with HOMER.

"BOB GOODWIN distributed 'Thank You' notes from BOB and MILLIE GOODWIN for BOB GOODWIN's testimonial."

A "Thank You Note" as received by [ ] is being placed in the 1-A section of 100-11772 (ROBERT GOODWIN). The note read as follows:

b7D

"THANKS TO YOU

"For your kind assistance in making the Bob Goodwin testimonial a success; and for your generous contribution which helped to bring Bob's Medical Fund well over the top. Our heartfelt thanks to you.

"The Committee  
Bob & Millie Goodwin"

LEAD FOR BOSTON DIVISION

At Quincy, Massachusetts:

Will attempt to determine identity of "LARRY" or "HARRY" (LNU), reported in attendance as a delegate from the Communist Party, South Shore.

SAC (100-22157)

6/11/59

SA FORREST F. BURGESS

PHIL MARI;  
SM - C

On May 11, 1959, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, telephonically furnished the following to SA FORREST F. BURGESS. This information was dictated into statement form to stenographer [redacted] on May 13, 1959, transcribed on May 13, 1959, and read and initialed by informant on June 4, 1959. It is maintained in [redacted].

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b7D

"Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
May 11, 1959

"TOM MARIED was overheard to say that PHIL MARI had postponed his plans for coming to Philadelphia on May 12, 1959, and, instead, it is now believed he would come to Philadelphia either on May 25 or May 26, 1959, and would stay overnight at TOM MARIED's home, 1345 West Susquehanna Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania."

Bureau and New York Office advised of the above-mentioned information by airtel CINAL dated 5/12/59.

- 1 - New York (100-56579) (RM)
- 3 - Philadelphia
- 1 - 100-22157
- 1 - 65-1666 (THOMAS MARIED)
- 1 - [redacted]

b7D

FFB:BJD  
(4)

100-56579-3407  
[Handwritten signature and initials]

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

6/11/59

SA

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b7c

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Care must be utilized in the handling and reporting of the following information since the very nature of this information tends to identify a highly placed and sensitive informant.

On 6/1/59, NY 2362-S\* advised that on this date an informal discussion was held in the office of EUGENE DENNIS at CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., NYC. According to informant, EUGENE DENNIS discussed with PHIL BART and HY LUMER the scheduling of some future meetings.

PHIL BART stated that in preparation for the July meeting (N.C. meeting scheduled weekend of July 25th) there should be a series of three discussions in the district:

1. June 16th in New York
2. July 7th (no place mentioned)
3. In Illinois week before the N.C.  
(probably 7/18/59)

Informant noted that the above schedule was very tentative and nothing definite was resolved.

EUGENE DENNIS said that he was in favor of having a full NEC meeting possibly Tuesday before the N.C. meeting (July 21, 1959).

- 1 - NY (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#415)
- ① - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#415)
- 1 - NY (100-105678) (HY LUMER) (#415)
- 1 - NY (100-80641)
- 1 - Supervisor J. J. KEARNEY (#415)

HCO:plr  
(5)

100-56579-3408

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 11 1959	
H. L. Quinn	

NY 100-80641

Continuing DENNIS remarked that possibly it would be too long a schedule and remarked that a discussion in Chicago would be helpful.

Informant advised that BART <sup>then</sup> there apparently discussed a possible location for the coming National Convention. He indicated that a decision has to be made soon and mention was made of "Academy Hall".

BART said they are still looking and have looked at six or seven places so far. He then said the "Plaza" we can't get.

DENNIS then referred to 5th Ave. and 110th St., but BART said he would prefer something around 14th St. because of eating problems and the like.

LUMER said "here at 14th St., it is good". BART reported that "we" have to decide soon... "they" want \$600.00 for everything, meeting room and all.

It is indicated that there would be further discussion and no decision was <sup>reached</sup> ~~worked~~.

The above is set out for information purposes.

F B I

Date: 6/11/59

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA, ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

ReNYairtel dated 6/10/59, containing CG 5824-S  
report of the Full NEC, CP, USA, meeting on 6/9/59.

3 - BUREAU (100-3-69)(RM)  
1 - BALTIMORE (100-12076)(GEORGE MEYERS)(Info)(RM)  
3 - CHICAGO (61-867)(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)(Info)(RM)  
    (1 - 100-3740)(MORRIS CHILDS)  
    (1 - 134-46)(CG 5824-S)  
2 - CLEVELAND (100- ) (GUS HALL)(Info)(RM)  
    (1 - 65-721)(ANTON KRCHMAREK)  
1 - DETROIT (100- ) (GUS HALL)(Info)(RM)  
2 - NEWARK (100-19491)(PAT TOOHEY)(Info)(RM) b7D  
    (1 - )  
1 - SAN FRANCISCO (65-1242)("MICKIE" LIMA)(Info)(RM)  
1 - SEATTLE (100-127)(BURT NELSON)(Info)(RM)  
1 - NY 66-6989 (CG 5824-S)(415)  
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(415)  
1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS)(416)  
1 - NY 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(415)  
1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)(415)  
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART)(422)  
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)(415)  
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(416)  
1 - NY 100-105078 (HY LUMER)(415)  
1 - NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-91330 ( ) (415)  
1 - NY 100-84275 (WILLIAM PATTERSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

ACB:mfd (415)  
(29)

Approved: TCY  
(Special Agent in Charge)

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

100-56579-3409

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
JUN 11 1959	
NEW YORK	

*A. P. Quinn*

NY 100-80641

UTMOST CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION HEREIN INASMUCH AS THE INFORMATION, BY ITS NATURE, TENDS TO IDENTIFY CG 5824-S, A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE THEREOF.

On 6/11/59, CG 5824-S advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON as follows:

At the second day's session of the Full NEC on 6/10/59, all CP functionaries who were present at the first session, (as reported in referenced airtel) again attended. GEORGE MEYERS of Baltimore, who had not attended the first day's session, arrived in time to attend the afternoon session of the meeting on 6/10/59. In addition, [redacted] and WILLIAM PATTERSON were present as guests during a discussion of the Negro Resolution.

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JAMES JACKSON read a report, not fully completed, on the Negro Resolution. In essence it charged that an "unholy alliance" exists between the administration and the "Dixiecrats", that the government is part of a conspiracy to violate the constitution in that it is assisting those who would deprive Negroes of their rights. The intent of the CP is to expose this "unholy alliance." The resolution was discussed by everybody at the meeting except PAT TOOHEY. A motion finally was made and passed that JACKSON have a complete draft of the resolution prepared in two weeks.

During the meeting a subcommittee withdrew for an hour and a half to formulate recommendations regarding the National Convention. This committee consisted of BURT NELSON, MORRIS CHILDS, WILLIAM ALBERTSON, "MICKIE" LIMA, and PHIL BART. This subcommittee recommended, and the recommendation was unanimously endorsed by the NEC, that the National Convention begin on the evening of December 10, 1959, and continue through December 13, 1959.

The subcommittee also recommended, and this recommendation likewise was endorsed unanimously, that District Conventions delegate to the National Convention their authority to elect members of the National Committee.



NY 100-80641

The subcommittee further recommended, and this recommendation also was unanimously endorsed by the NEC, that representation at the National Convention should be based on dues payments. Although total attendance at the said convention will approximate 200, including alternates and guests, there should be no more than 125 voting delegates. Inasmuch as dues payments approximate 6,000, there should be one delegate for about every 50 dues payments. The subcommittee's recommendation in this regard included the provision that representation from the NY State CP may not be more than one-third of the total number of delegates.

CG 5824-S pointed out that, although unanimously endorsed by the NEC, the subcommittee's recommendations must be approved by the NC.

A considerable part of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the NEC report, which was read by HY LUMER. GUS HALL was vehement in his denunciation of the report, stating that under no conditions should it be submitted to the NC. He maintained, and the others at the meeting concurred, that the report as such could cause disunity in the Party, and if publicized, might render the Party vulnerable to attack.

It was contended that the report of the Party's "accomplishments" might entail legal complications, particularly now in the light of the recent Supreme Court decisions. "Bragging" about its accomplishments might prove to be a "boomerang" to the CP.

It was finally agreed that a resolution containing "the essence" of the NEC report be submitted to the NC, not a report as such.

EUGENE DENNIS read an outline of the main political resolution to be submitted at the convention. According to the informant, it is identical with the first draft of said resolution prepared when EUGENE DENNIS was recently in Chicago and concerning which the Bureau already has been advised.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-31723)

FROM : SA FORREST F. BURGESS

SUBJECT: CP USA ORGANIZATION;  
IS - C -----

DATE: 6/12/59

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA FORREST F. BURGESS on 5/7/59, [redacted]. A [redacted] PHIL BART, who had planned to visit in Philadelphia. [redacted] would be able to [redacted].

b7D

The copy of this letter is being maintained in 100-317-23-1B-10 (28).

It is noted a cinal airtel was sent out on this matter on 5/8/59, with the New York Office in receipt of a copy.

① - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART)  
1 - 100-31723  
1 - 100-22157 (PHIL BART)  
1 - [redacted]

b7D

FFB:pah  
(4)

*[Handwritten signature]*

H.P. QUINN 100-56579-3410  
#15  
H.P. Quinn  
*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten mark]*

SAC (100-22157)

6/12/59

SA FORREST F. BURGESS

PHILIP BART  
SM - C

On 5/25/59, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA FORREST F. BURGESS of the following. This information was dictated on 5/28/59 into statement form, typed by Stenographer [redacted] on 5/28/59, and was then read and initialed by the informant on 6/4/59. It is maintained in [redacted]

"Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
May 25, 1959

b6  
b7C  
b7D

"PHIL BART [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

- 1 - New York (RM)  
1 - 100-56579 (PHILIP BART)  
4 - Philadelphia  
1 - 100-22157  
1 - 100-28841 (FRANCES GABOW)  
1 - 65-1686 (THOMAS NABRIED)  
1 - [redacted]

b7D

FFB:MML  
(5)

100-56579-3411

*[Handwritten signature]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*

86

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-74560)

6/12/59

SUBJECT: CP, USA-FUNDS  
IS-C

On 5/19/59, NY 2002-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to the NYO information concerning the payroll of the CP, USA National Office during the weeks ending 5/1, 5/8 and 5/15/59. The following persons were on this payroll and received wages at the indicated rates:

NAME OF EMPLOYEE	GROSS WEEKLY WAGE	NET WEEKLY WAGE
EUGENE DENNIS	\$90.00	\$77.25
✓ PHILIP BART	85.00	68.10
GERALD DALY	35.00	30.25
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	90.00	80.15
JAMES E. JACKSON	90.00	80.15
ARNOLD S. JOHNSON	85.00	68.10
HY LUMER	90.00	71.55
[REDACTED]	90.00	74.45
RUTH SHULMAN	75.00	60.65
JACK SHULMAN	90.00	71.55
WILLIAM STANLEY	85.00	68.10
ROBERT THOMPSON	90.00	80.15

- 2-Bureau (100-3-63) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (415)
- ① 1-New York (100-56579) (PHILIP BART) (415)
- 1-New York (100-70281) (G. DALY) (424)
- 1-New York (100-9360) (W. Z. FOSTER) (415)
- 1-New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1-New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
- 1-New York (100-68934) ([REDACTED]) (422)
- 1-New York (100-67234) (RUTH SHULMAN) (425)
- 1-New York (100-111666) (JACK SHULMAN) (425)
- 1-New York (100-82206) (WILLIAM STANLEY) (425)
- 1-New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)
- 1-New York (100-74560) (415)

AJS:paf  
(14)

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b7c

100-56579-3412

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
415 JUN 8 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. P. Quinn*

NY 100-74560

If above information is to be used in reports disseminated outside the Bureau, it should be appropriately paraphrased to protect the identity of NY 2002-S\*.

NY-112

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100- 56579) (422)

FROM: SA  b6  
b7C

DATE: 6/12/59

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
SM - C

The above captioned subject was observed entering and/or leaving 23 West 26th St., New York, New York.

NY 1726-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 4/21/57 that effective 4/15/57 the National and New York State offices of the Communist Party would occupy the premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

NY 694-S\* on 6/5/58 advised that the editorial staff of "The Worker" was to be moved into the building at 23 West 26th Street on 6/7,8/58.

NY 2002-S\* on 6/20/58 verified the occupancy of the basement and first floor areas of building by the office staff of "The Worker", an East Coast weekly Communist newspaper.

DATE

OBSERVED BY SAS

5/21/59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

5/22/59

WILLIAM J. BARRON

5/25/59

5/26/59

5/27/59



b6  
b7C

A log covering the above surveillances is being maintained in NY file 100-4931 Sub O.

FJM:gms  
(1) *gms*

*9/1/4*

100-56579-3413

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 12 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*AP Quinn*

F B I

Date: 6/12/59

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

VIA AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA, ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

ReNYairtel, 6/11/59, containing CG 5824-S' report of the Full NEC, CP, USA, meeting on 6/10/59.

On 6/12/59, CG 5824-S advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that the third day's session of the Full NEC on 6/11/59 continued for only two and a half hours, and that present thereat were the following CP functionaries: EUGENE DENNIS, IRVING POTASH, PHIL BART, JAMES JACKSON, ELIZABETH FLYNN, BILL ALBERTSON, ARNOLD JOHNSON, BEN DAVIS, JR., MORRIS CHILDS, CARL WINTER, and JACK STACHEL.

At this session the NEC completed discussion of the main political resolution submitted at the previous day's session

3 - BUREAU (100-3-69)(RM)  
2 - CHICAGO (100-3740)(MORRIS CHILDS)(Info)(RM)  
(1 - 134-46)(CG 5824-S)  
1 - DETROIT (100-13420)(CARL WINTER)(Info)(RM)  
1 - NY 66-6989 (CG 5824-S)(415)  
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(415)  
1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.)(416)  
1 - NY 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(415)  
1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)(415)  
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART)(422)  
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)(415)  
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(416)  
1 - NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

ACB:mfd (#415)  
(18)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

100-56579-3414

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 12 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. P. Quinn

M-Per

NY 100-80641

by EUGENE DENNIS. The principal matter of discussion was the 1960 election campaign, particularly with respect to the possibility of the formation of a third party to run on "a peace ticket."

The consensus was that, desirable as the formation of such a party might be, it was a foregone conclusion that the formation of such a peace ticket at the next election was highly improbable. It was unanimously agreed that in the coming election the CP should concentrate its efforts "in working within the two old parties."

CG 5824-S also stated that at this session of the NEC, discussion confirmed the fact that the CP now has an "Organizational Commission" and an "Organizational Bureau."

The informant reported that on 6/12/59, MORRIS CHILDS, of the CP International Affairs Commission, would submit to the NEC a report on Latin America.



NY-112

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579) (422)

FROM: SA

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

DATE: 6/12/59

SUBJECT: PHIL BART  
SM - C

The above captioned subject was observed entering and/or leaving 23 West 26th St., New York, New York.

NY 1726-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 4/21/57 that effective 4/15/57 the National and New York State offices of the Communist Party would occupy the premises at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York.

NY 694-S\* on 6/5/58 advised that the editorial staff of "The Worker" was to be moved into the building at 23 West 26th Street on 6/7,8/58.

NY 2002-S\* on 6/20/58 verified the occupancy of the basement and first floor areas of building by the office staff of "The Worker", an East Coast weekly Communist newspaper.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>OBSERVED BY SAS</u>
5/28/59	WILLIAM J. BARRON
6/1 /59	WILLIAM J. BARRON
6/2 /59	WILLIAM J. BARRON
6/ 3/59	WILLIAM J. BARRON
/ /59	

A log covering the above surveillances is being maintained in NY file 100-4931 Sub O.

FJM:gms

(1) *gms*

100-56579-3415

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 12 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

*04/4*

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-31723)  
 FROM : SA WILLIAM E. HUGHES

DATE: 6/15/59

SUBJECT: CPUSA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

On 5/28/59, PH-541-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SE RAYMOND J. BOTT that JAMES DOLSEN and THOMAS NABRIED were working at CP Headquarters, Philadelphia, on the afternoon of 5/28/59. DOLSEN advised NABRIED that he had made considerable changes in "that leaflet" and said he wanted NABRIED to check it to make sure the leaflet met with NABRIED's approval. Informant stated the leaflet was in connection with the visit of GEORGE MORRIS to Philadelphia. It will concern itself with (1) how Russia has wiped out unemployment; (2) how Russia has eliminated national and racial prejudices; (3) Russian educational and scientific advances (Sputnik); (4) necessity of world peace and an end to the insane armament race. NABRIED approved the changes in the leaflet made by DOLSEN. DOLSEN said he would see FRANCES GABOW on the evening of 5/28/59 at DOLSEN's residence.

## 3 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 1 - 100-133884 (CPUSA - INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY  
 NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS)  
 1 - 100-80641 (CPUSA - ORGANIZATION)  
 1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)

## 14 - Philadelphia

- 1 - 100-31723  
 1 - 100-33150 (CPUSA - FACTIONALISM)  
 1 - 100-43429 (CPUSA - INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY -  
 NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS)  
 1 - 100-32825 (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
 1 - 100-31643 (CPUSA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)  
 1 - 100-30941 (CPUSA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)  
 1 - 100-34061 (WILLIAM CRAWFORD)  
 1 - 100-22603 (JAMES DOLSEN)  
 1 - 100-1045 (FRANK FISHER)  
 1 - 100-28841 (FRANCES GABOW)  
 1 - 105-1397 (WILLIAM H. HINTON)  
 1 - 100-28746 (GEORGE MORRIS)  
 1 - 65-1686 (THOMAS NABRIED)  
 1 - 100-38020 (JOSEPH ROBERTS)

H.P. QUINN

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 18 1959	
FBI - PHILADELPHIA	

700-56579-3416

Searched	Indexed
Serialized	Filed
JUNE 15, 1959	
FBI, PHILADELPHIA	

WEH:ARD  
 (17)

DOLSEN said his typewriter is much better than the typewriter at the CP office and it cuts a beautiful stencil. NABRIED said GABOW would come to the CP office on 5/29/59 to run off the stencil, and he asked DOLSEN how many copies of the leaflet would be needed. DOLSEN estimated 2,000 copies would be needed.

NABRIED inquired whether DOLSEN would see ABE (SOKOLOV) on 5/28/59 because ABE had some money to turn in to DOLSEN for subscriptions. DOLSEN said he could go to see ABE.

NABRIED requested DOLSEN to get all possible data on the election results of the campaign of THOMAS MC BRIDE, who ran on both the Republican and Democratic ballots in the 5/59 primary election for the position of Judge of the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court. NABRIED said he wanted to know where the pressures came from, the comments of some labor leaders who are looking into the possibility of whether MC BRIDE can run as an independent candidate in the general election, etc. DOLSEN commented that in MC BRIDE's case the Negro people did not play a role in backing MC BRIDE as they should have done. NABRIED reasoned that this was because the NAACP is nonpartisan, because the Elks are dominated by the Republicans, and because a number of Baptists and even Methodist ministers are strongly Republican while MC BRIDE was appointed to the Supreme Court by former Democratic Governor LEADER.

NABRIED also requested DOLSEN to get together material concerning the wives of Congressmen who have died where their wives have taken over their husband's job. NABRIED mentioned in particular a Mrs. JONES (Pennsylvania State Legislature) and KATHERINE GRANAHAN (U.S. Representative from 2nd CD, Philadelphia). NABRIED said this seems to be a sign of the times where the wives take over the positions of their husbands and shows that the hierarchy are all tied in.

DOLSEN told NABRIED he was going to New York City on 5/29/59 and asked if there was anything NABRIED wanted him to take up while in New York. DOLSEN asked NABRIED who had replaced ROBERT THOMPSON, now that THOMPSON was back in prison, and was told that PHIL (BART) had taken over most of THOMPSON's duties. NABRIED suggested that DOLSEN ask BART what duties are being handled by BART and what duties by someone else.

PH 100-31723

NABRIED then discussed with DOLSEN the idea of telling the National Office about the removal of JOSEPH ROBERTS from the National Committee, CPUSA, by action of the District Committee, CPEPD (5/21/59). NABRIED instructed DOLSEN to tell PHIL BART what happened and to ask if PHIL agreed that the removal of ROBERTS was handled in the proper way. DOLSEN also was told to advise PHIL of ROBERTS' replacement, namely, FRANK FISHER. NABRIED stated he was not in agreement with the replacement and said that is why he wanted the question left open for a while in case "they" wanted to invite somebody to come in. NABRIED said he was of the opinion that ROBERTS should be removed but did not feel it was necessary to choose a replacement, and he was not satisfied with FRANK FISHER being the replacement. NABRIED feels that FRANK might well "grab for glory."

DOLSEN said that he felt it would be a good idea to begin taking minutes of the (DC) meetings which would include the decisions that were made, persons in attendance, etc., and then have these minutes distributed to the clubs so the clubs would know what was going on. NABRIED said that they knew who attended the meetings and who did or did not do a particular thing.

DOLSEN said he was opposed to (BILL) CRAWFORD being given authority because CRAWFORD was impossible to deal with. (CRAWFORD was also nominated for membership on the National Committee but declined to serve.) DOLSEN and NABRIED discussed generally the idea of giving aggressive people a chance to get some training in expressing themselves and a chance to work into higher positions of leadership.

NABRIED and DOLSEN next spoke of a person they had discussed a few days previously (believed to be WILLIAM H. HINTON) who NABRIED stated wanted to start with a bundle of five papers and planned to pay for all these papers at the present time. NABRIED told DOLSEN to turn in an order for this individual on 5/29/59 while he is in New York so that the papers would arrive during the following week.

DOLSEN told NABRIED that in regard to the excess literature which had to be disposed of, BILL CRAWFORD was of the opinion that the committee of which CRAWFORD was a member had been set up only to find new quarters for the CP and that this purpose had been accomplished. DOLSEN said he did not

PH 100-31723

want to wait any longer for CRAWFORD to do something about the excess literature on hand and asked NABRIED to have an administrative committee of three set up which would have authority to dispose of this excess literature. DOLSEN said it might be a worthwhile suggestion to give some of this material as premiums for various events that may be held during the summer months.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 6/15/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE  
FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY  
OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\* on June 14, 1959, orally furnished to SA  
JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following page. This  
information was reduced to writing on June 15, 1959:

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Indianapolis (100-11093)(CP, USA, Organization)(RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (100-421) (CP, USA, Organization)(RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis (100-1878P)(CP, USA, Organization)(RM)
- 3 - New York (RM)
  - 1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization)
  - 1 - 100-12959 (CONNIE BART)
  - 1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)
- 1 - St. Louis (RM)(100-7781)(CP, USA, Organization)(RM)
- 3 - Chicago
  - 1 - A) 134-46
  - 1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)

*JEK*  
JEK:ldo  
(12)

*H.P. Quinn*

100-56579-3417

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 17 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H.P. Quinn*

June 14, 1959

PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, stated during the week of June 7, 1959, that he and his wife, CONNIE BART, plan to be in Chicago, Illinois, on or about July 5, 1959, and that he also planned to stay at the residence of MORRIS CHILDS while in Chicago. BART said that this would be a combined vacation and business trip and that while in the Mid-West he hopes to visit the Indiana, Missouri, Minnesota, and Wisconsin Districts.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-12959)

6/15/59

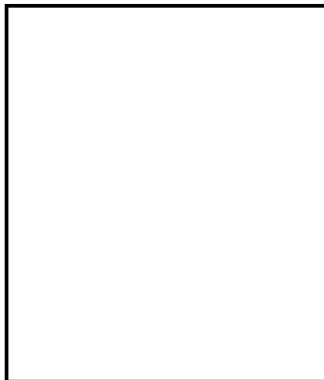
SA HAROLD P. QUINN (415)

CONNIE BART  
IS - C

On 5/6/59, NY 1637-S\* furnished photographs of information in the possession of the subject and her husband at their residence at 2415 Newkirk Avenue, Brooklyn, NY. The original negatives of these photographs have been made an exhibit in the file of PHIL BART, NY 100-56579.

Among the information furnished by this source was a photograph of a sheet of paper containing handwritten names, addresses, and telephone numbers, apparently in the handwriting of the subject. The significance and meaning of this list is not known, however, it is noted that the list does contain the names of a number of security subjects residing in the Brooklyn area.

Listed below are the names, addresses, and telephone numbers contained on the above-described sheet. The original photograph of this information is being made an attachment to the copy of this memorandum disseminated for the subject file:



b6  
b7C

1 - NY (100- ) (BERNARD KRAUS) (422)  
1 - NY (100-88519) ( ) (422)  
1 - NY (100-136883) (SARAH STARR) (422)  
1 - NY (100-130678) (ANNA NIVER) (422)  
1 - NY (100-100724) (IDA LIEBER) (422)  
1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1 - NY (100-12959)

HPC:man  
(7)

3418

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 17 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

RJP



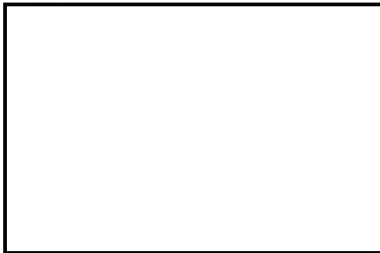
NY 100-12959

Mrs. S. STARR  
1822 Aise St.  
QE 4-3492

BERNARD KRAUS  
405 Quantice Rd.  
ES 5-9527  
(had board meeting)

ANN NIVER  
1477 43rd St.  
QE 5-3111

IDA LIEBER  
202 Sealey St.  
NY 9-6230



b6  
b7c

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

6/15/59

HAROLD P. QUINN (415)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

On 6/5/59, NY 1750-S\* furnished information regarding a conversation which took place at the residence of PHILIP and CONSTANCE BART, 2415 Newkirk Ave., Brooklyn, NY, between the BARTs.

PHIL and CONNIE engaged in a conversation at approximately midnight after returning from a visit with ELIZABETH FLYNN. PHIL commented that ELIZABETH is as frank with them as with anyone. CONNIE commented that BETTY GANNETT is getting a full time assignment as a personal vindication of FLYNN. She said that with FLYNN it is a matter of principle. PHIL then commented that [ ] should have a right to express his opinions. CONNIE says that if he expresses his opinion in a pre-conference discussion it will turn the Party into a turmoil to which PHIL comments that it is obscure and that [ ] should have his say. CONNIE says that she would like to have ELIZABETH come to Brooklyn to speak soon. PHIL said that that would be a very good idea.

b6  
b7C

- 1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-1696) (ELIZABETH FLYNN) (411)
- 1 - NY (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (416)
- 1 - NY (100-15946) [ ] (416)
- 1 - NY (100-80641) ( )

HPQ:man  
(6)

3479

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 15 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

77

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

6/15/59

SA HAROLD P. QUINN (415)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

On 6/2/59, NY 1750-S\* furnished information regarding a conversation which took place at the residence of PHILIP and CONSTANCE BART, 2415 Newkirk Ave., Brooklyn, NY, between the BARTs.

PHIL and CONNIE discussed a meeting at headquarters which PHIL attended, but described as "only a meeting". CONNIE questioned PHIL about the relations down at the National office and if they are very close. PHIL comments that they are not close and that they do not have a team spirit.

CONNIE then asks about JACK STACHEL and PHIL comments that JACK is not around too much. CONNIE asked if STACHEL might possibly help relations and PHIL says emphatically no. CONNIE comments that STACHEL is impersonal and detached. She then asked when the enlarged meeting was going to take place with the people from out of town and he says that it will be a week from today (6/9/59).

Later in the evening, PHIL reads a portion of a report to CONNIE which he is going to make at the next NEC meeting and PHIL indicates that he is working on Article 7, Section 7 of the old 1948 CP Constitution, which was abrogated by the 1957 CP Convention. He comments that the working must be perfect as there will be a good amount of debate on it.

1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1 - NY (100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (415)  
1 - NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)  
1 - NY (100-80641)

HPQ:man  
(4)

3420

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 16 1959	
H. P. Quinn	

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43)

6/15/59

SA HAROLD P. QUINN (415)

CP, JUSA  
KINGS COUNTY  
IS - C

On 5/31/59, NY 1750-S\* furnished information regarding a conversation which took place at the residence of PHILIP and CONSTANCE BART, 2415 Newkirk Ave., Brooklyn, NY, between the BARTs.

At approximately 12:00 noon, an unknown woman visited the BART apartment, who is believed to be identical with [redacted]. The woman and PHIL BART discussed a number of CP matters and she comments that her club is holding quite a few discussions. CONNIE BART comments to the woman that her club is growing by leaps and bounds. The unknown woman and CONNIE then mentioned "JERRY" (COVICI) as being in a position to do something for them. The unknown woman has a daughter named [redacted] and describes a car pool which helps to take her children to summer school. She also has an old car which is in very bad shape. Apparently she may have a son named [redacted]

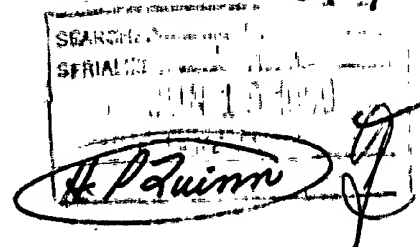
b6  
b7C

Later in the evening PHIL and CONNIE are discussing CP affairs and CONNIE comments that the Flatbush Club is going very strong and they held a discussion on the future possibilities of Flatbush. PHIL complains to CONNIE about the Party's workings among the Negro people at a time when there is so much activity in their behalf.

- 1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-117529) (JERRY COVICI) (422)
- 1 - NY (100-101065) [redacted] (417)
- 1 - NY (100-80644) (CP, Youth) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C273) (CP-KINGS; FLATBUSH Group) (422)
- 1 - NY (100-26603-C43) (422)

b6  
b7C

HPQ:man  
(7)



SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

6/15/59

SA HAROLD P. QUINN (415)

CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

On 5/28/59, NY 1750-S\* furnished information regarding a conversation which took place at the residence of PHILIP and CONSTANCE BART, 2415 Newkirk Ave., Brooklyn, NY, between the BARTs.

At approximately 7:10 p.m., BETTY GANNETT arrived at the BART apartment apparently for dinner. During their conversation at dinner, PHIL commented that it was a shame that so many people who were formerly active in the Party have left or are no longer active. CONNIE asked BETTY if she and [ ] could visit them some week end for dinner on Saturday night, but BETTY said that right now it would be very difficult as [ ] is driving a cab and he works on Saturday and Sunday.

CONNIE comments to them that the meeting which she and BETTY are going tonight is not too far from there and is due to start about 8:30.

b6  
b7C

BETTY and CONNIE left the apartment at approximately 8:00 p.m.

At approximately 9:25 PHIL BART receives a telephone call from an unidentified person who is apparently in NJ. PHIL comments that he would like to get together with him sometime soon and questions the caller on the days which he is off. He comments that he expects to be very busy on the week end as that is the best time to contact people. He says that he took over in the National office when the other guy was out sick and that National, when the other guy left town, he took over the whole job.

1 - NY (100-12959) (CONNIE BART) (415)  
1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)  
1 - NY (100-15946) [ ] (416)  
1 - NY (100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT) (416)  
1 - NY (100-26603-C43) (CP - KINGS) (422)  
1 - NY (100-80641)

HPQ:man  
(6)

3422

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 16 1959	
H. P. Quinn	

NY 100-80641

At 9:40 PHIL answers another incoming call and tells the person that he is very busy and that he expects to spend most of his week ends during the summer getting ready for the big convention in the fall.

Ver. due 7/29/59

## VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION ON SECURITY INDEX CARD

MEMORANDUM RE: PHILIP BART

Office File 100-56579

The following is the most recent place of employment, employment address, and residence address of the above subject as contained on the subject's Security Index Card.

Residence: Apt. 4G, 2415 Newkirk Ave, Bklyn, NY

Employment: Communist Part, USA, 23 W. 26 St, NY

Address:

Key Facility ☐ Yes ☒ No  
 Security Flash ☒ Yes ☐ No

Detcom ☒ Yes ☐ No  
 Photo ☒ Yes ☐ No

Bklyn 67

It is requested that the place of employment, address of employment, residence address of the subject, as well as the accuracy of the priority tabbing, be verified and the proper notations be made below. The absence of a photograph and posting of a Security Flash should be noted and efforts made to secure a photograph and determine the existence of a criminal record.

A physical description based on personal observation of the subject appears in serial

Residence: Same

Method of Verification:

Neighborhood Source: CS

Date: 6/17/59

Verified by SA: H.P. Quinn

b7D

Employment: Same

Address:

Key Facility: ☐ Yes ☒ No

Date Checked:

Geographical Reference Number:

Tab Detcom: ☒ Yes ☐ No

Method of Verification:

Employment Source: NY 1750-S\*

Date: 6/15/59

Verified by SA: H.P. Quinn

FD-122 should be submitted to Bureau:

☐ Yes ☒ No

File Reviewed

☒ Subject Meets SI Criteria  
☐ Does Not Meet SI Criteria

Agents Initials: H.P. Quinn

Date: 6/18/59

100-36579-3423

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 18 1959	
FBI-NEW YORK	
H. P. Quinn	
S. J. Yout	
415	

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 6/11/59

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE  
FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY  
OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S\* on June 15, 1959, orally furnished to  
SA JOHN E. KEATING the information on the following pages.  
This information consists of a summary of a meeting of the  
Foreign Affairs Committee or International Commission of the  
Communist Party (CP), USA, held in New York City on June 12,  
1959. This information was reduced to writing on June 17,  
1959.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Boston (100-23224) (HARVEY O'CONNOR) (RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (100-421) (GUS HALL) (RM)
- ① - New York (RM)
  - 1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA, International Relations)
  - 1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization)
  - ① - 100-56579 (PHIL BART)
  - 1 - 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)
  - 1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)
  - 1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
  - 1 - 100-13444 (JOE NORTH)
  - 1 - 100-16577 (HARVEY O'CONNOR)
  - 1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
  - 1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
  - 1 - 100- (Unsub, Aka. "MIKE")
- 4 - Chicago
  - 1 - A) 134-46 (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - 1 - 100-3470 (HARVEY O'CONNOR)
  - 1 - 100-3322

JEK:ldo (19)

100-56579-3424

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 19 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. P. Quinn



June 15, 1959

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

The Foreign Affairs Committee or International Commission of the Communist Party (CP), USA, met in the third floor Board Room of the National Headquarters of the CP, USA, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on Friday, June 12, 1959. Some members of the National Executive Committee were also in attendance at this meeting.

Persons in Attendance

In attendance at this meeting were the following:

EUGENE DENNIS, who was the Chairman of the meeting  
MORRIS CHILDS  
JIM JACKSON  
GUS HALL  
IRVING POTASH  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
JACK STACHEL  
JOE NORTH, and  
✓ PHIL BART

STACHEL and BART were present for only a part of the meeting.

Report on Latin America  
by MORRIS CHILDS

This meeting was held solely for the purpose of hearing a report on Latin America by MORRIS CHILDS.

CHILDS stated that he had attended a conference at which representatives of Latin American Communist Parties were in attendance. He did not indicate where or when this conference was held. CHILDS stated that he would cover the following points in his report:

1. The current situation in Latin America.

2. The current status of struggles in Latin America and the role of the Communist Parties.
3. Ideological questions involved.
4. Tasks for the CP, USA, in the anti-imperialist struggles now taking place in Latin America.

CHILDS stated that Latin America is no longer a preserve of the United States yet Latin American countries carry the yoke of imperialism and many of these countries should be freed of domination by United States Imperialists.

He went on to say that even the bourgeois press must admit the economic and social basis for the revolutions now taking place in Latin America. He stated that those present should not underestimate the land reforms and other social reforms emerging from the Cuban situation. CHILDS then discussed the history of the fight for reforms in Mexico.

Continuing, CHILDS stated that at the present time those who are oppressed in Latin America view the independence moves in Africa and Asia and the strengthening of the Socialist world as an aid for their cause.

Again referring to Cuba, CHILDS stated that the CP of Cuba has roots among the masses. He said that on the surface the rulers of Cuba looked strong just as the rulers of Russia looked strong prior to the October, 1957, revolution. Yet it was possible to topple BATISTA because the CP in Cuba had roots among the masses.

In regard to the imperialist camp, CHILDS stated that the imperialists wanted to crush the revolution in Iraq but did not succeed. The fall of Western Imperialism has had an effect on the national bourgeoisie of Latin America. He stated that some CP members in Latin America feel that if the United States became involved in affairs in Latin American countries it might be as difficult for the United States to get out as it was in Korea.

CHILDS stated that there was a general opinion in the conference which he had attended that United States Imperialism has played a reactionary role in Latin America and that sections of the national bourgeoisie who support United States Imperialism are also reactionary. He stated that the feeling at this conference was that some of the dictatorships which still exist in Latin America would not last one day without the support of the United States.

Turning to the question of the national bourgeoisie in Latin America, CHILDS said that Latin American Communist Parties are resolving the problem of the role of the national bourgeoisie. At this point CHILDS read quotations from an article by RODNEY ARISMENDI, First Secretary of the CP of Uruguay. This article appears in the Number 5, 1959, issue of the "World Marxist Review".

CHILDS pointed out that ARISMENDI has made an economic analysis of the role of the national bourgeoisie in Latin American countries. He stated that ARISMENDI proves theoretically that there are economic reasons which compel the national bourgeoisie and the middle classes in Latin America to fight against United States Imperialism. Thus ARISMENDI is trying to convince Latin American Communist Parties that they have to unite even with their own bourgeoisie in the fight for peace and independence. CHILDS stated that ARISMENDI points out that a common feature of a national liberation revolution is that the national bourgeoisie participates in them.

Then CHILDS emphasized that from a political standpoint a regime cannot stand still. It must go forward or reaction will set in. He stated that the objective situation in Latin America favors a struggle for independence. The best examples of this are Cuba and Venezuela. He said that a revolution must advance. Regimes must be considered as temporary unless they go forward.

According to CHILDS, Latin American comrades state that the Communist Parties must strengthen themselves among the proletariats in order to develop a working class mass base and class line. Thus the Communist Parties have to carry on work in the trade unions in order to intensify the national liberation movement against the United States and British Imperialism. Also the Communist Parties need to show how economic problems can be solved and used Egypt as an example. That is, after the struggle against British Imperialism, the people of Egypt followed through with their own economic demands.

Next CHILDS stated that there is a feeling in international Communist circles that the revolutionary struggles in the Latin American countries are on different levels. Yet if there is a successful revolution in one country that country can give support to other countries just as several countries unite to conclude or to wage a war.

CHILDS stated that internationally there is a feeling that every blow against United States Imperialism in Latin America is a blow struck for peace. Also that struggles in the Southern part of the Western Hemisphere cannot be separated from the world situation. CHILDS stated that without colonies, imperialism would be deformed and weak.

CHILDS concluded his report with a review of recent events in Venezuela. He also stated that he had learned that there was supposed to be one or two broad hemispheric conferences for peace during 1959 but that he did not have any details concerning them.

#### Question Period

CHILDS was asked what is happening in Brazil. He replied that he did not know much about Brazil and understands that the CP of Brazil is still being consolidated.

IRVING POTASH asked if the CTAL (Latin American Trade Union Federation) is still functioning. CHILDS said that he understood that it was not and that Latin American Communists want more representation in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

#### Action Taken at This Meeting

As a result of this meeting, ARNOLD JOHNSON was instructed to prepare a list of outstanding liberals and sympathizers to whom invitations to attend a hemispheric conference could be sent.

Inasmuch as this meeting was held the day after it was announced that United States State Department had sent a note to Cuba in regard to Cuba's contemplated land reform policy, GUS HALL asked if this could not be utilized as a handle to show United States interference in Latin American affairs. It was decided to issue a public statement on this in "The Worker" and also to start an educational campaign on Cuba in "The Worker". This campaign would show United States interference in Cuban affairs.

It was further decided to begin to agitate among Spanish speaking peoples in the United States and to begin to organize Cuban - American Friendship Committees among Latins in the larger cities in the United States.

It was also decided to issue a Latin American bulletin in both the English and Spanish languages. In this regard POTASH said that he had talked to "MIKE" who said that it would not cost much to publish such a bulletin. ARNOLD JOHNSON was instructed to see "MIKE" in regard to this contemplated bulletin, the list of persons JOHNSON is to prepare and also the Cuban - American Friendship Committees.

In regard to "MIKE", it was learned that at one time he had some connections with both CARL BRADEN and HARVEY O'CONNOR. It was suggested that "MIKE" be asked to approach O'CONNOR in regard to attending a hemispheric conference and also to ask other prominent individuals to attend such a conference.

In regard to hemispheric conferences, it was decided that the CP, USA, should not take any initiative to set up such conferences. MORRIS CHILDS was given the responsibility for obtaining information in regard to any conferences of this type which are being contemplated.

It was also decided to establish two subcommittees in this International Affairs Committee. One of the subcommittees will deal with Latin American affairs and the other with Far Eastern affairs.

It was further decided that the next meeting of the International Affairs Committee will be held in two weeks, that is on June 25, 1959. At this meeting the officers of the International Affairs Committee will be elected.

ARNOLD JOHNSON was instructed to prepare a cablegram or an air mail letter containing "greetings" from the CP, USA, to the CP of France, which is to hold a congress in the near future.

CHILDS was instructed to prepare a letter of "greetings" within two weeks to the CP of Indonesia, which will hold its congress in the near future.

Comments of CG-5824-S\*

It would appear that the person referred to only as "MIKE" is an important link for the CP, USA, in Latin American affairs.

SAC, NY (100-8057)

6/18/59

SA  #415

b6  
b7C

EUGENE DENNIS  
IS-C

CARE SHOULD BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE ABOVE INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 5/27/59, NY 2362-S\* advised that on 5/27/59, an informal discussion was held in the office of EUGENE DENNIS at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th St., NYC. According to informant, in attendance with DENNIS was PHIL BART, and BILL ALBERTSON. Informant noted that throughout the discussion the added security of the blackboard was utilized and much of the pertinent discussion was not available to the informant.

The discussion pertained almost exclusively to the question of the Fund Drive and the financial situation of the Party.

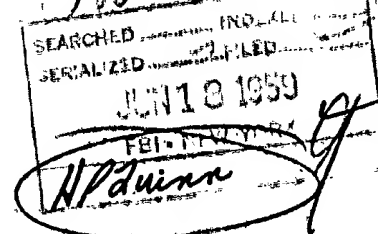
BILL ALBERTSON indicated that it would not be possible to meet the present quota and said that to think of increasing the goal is just talking to the wind.

PHIL BART said that the financial situation (with respect to "The Worker") is worse than last year. BILL ALBERTSON remarked that he was at a loss to raise funds, adding "This stuff ain't coming in no more." He said that it is important that several people sit down and talk things over before a "crisis sits in....."

Informant advised that following further discussion ALBERTSON said they should set up a committee to go over the National and state budgets.

- 1 - NY (100-56579)(PHIL BART)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-129629)(BILL ALBERTSON)(416)
- 1 - NY (100-74560)(CPUSA-FUNDS)(415)
- 1 - NY (97-169)(PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)(415)
- 1 - NY (100-8057)

HCO:KMI  
(5)





NY 100-8057

Continuing informant advised that further discussion was had regarding finances, but due to the continuous use of the blackboard this information was incomplete and not available to the informant.

The above is set out for informational purposes.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

6/18/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)

CP, USA, ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Identity of source [redacted] who has furnished  
reliable info in past (conceal)

Description of info Meeting of CP, USA, [redacted]  
[redacted] at CP, USA,  
Headquarters, [redacted]

Date received 6/3/59

b7D

Received by SAS JOHN A. HAAQ, NY, and  
VINCENT E. MURPHY, Newark  
(oral)

Original location [redacted]

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting  
the following info in order to protect the identity of informant.

Information received from informant, as set forth  
above, was reduced to writing by SA HAAQ on 6/8/59, and  
authenticated by informant on 6/12/59.

A copy of informant's report follows:

2 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)  
2 - Newark [redacted] (Info)(RM)  
    (1 - [redacted])  
1 - NY [redacted] (Inv)(41)  
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART)(422)  
1 - NY 100- [redacted] LNU, P, N, 35, from Bedford-  
    Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn, at mtg.  
    of CP, USA, [redacted]  
    [redacted], per [redacted] (412)  
1 - NY 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)(415)  
1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)(416)  
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

b7D

JAH:mfd  
(10)

100-56579-3426

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 18 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	
H.P. Zwick	

NY 100-80641

6/3/59

On [ ] a meeting of the [ ]  
[ ] of the CPUSA was held at 6 PM at CPUSA headquarters  
in N.Y.C. Those present were PHIL BART, [ ]

b7D

BART stated that [ ]

[ ] however did not appear.

Also during the course of the meeting [ ]

It was decided that the meeting would be held

NY 100-80641

b7D

EART stated that

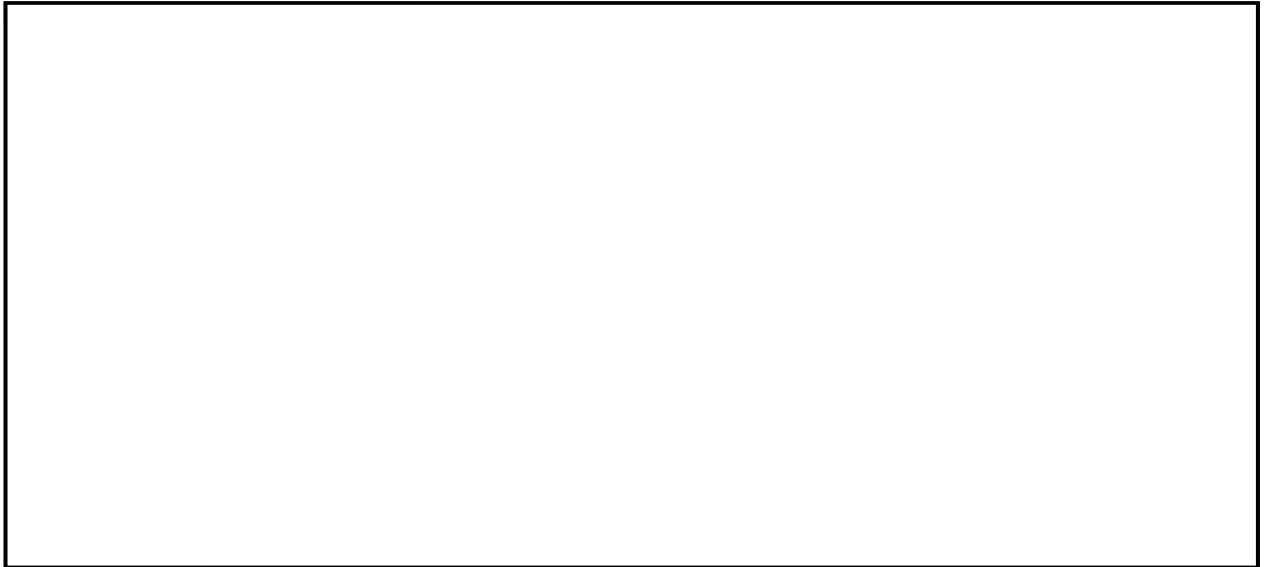
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

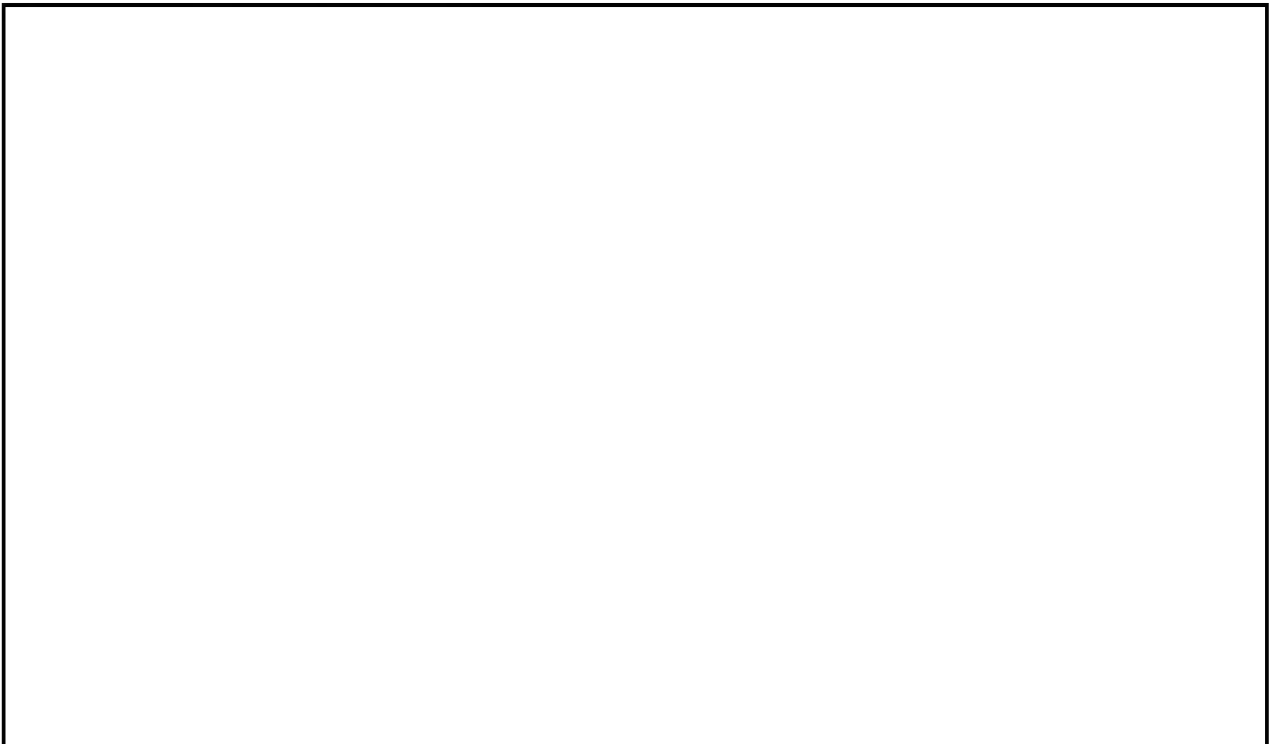
[REDACTED]

NY 100-80641

b7D

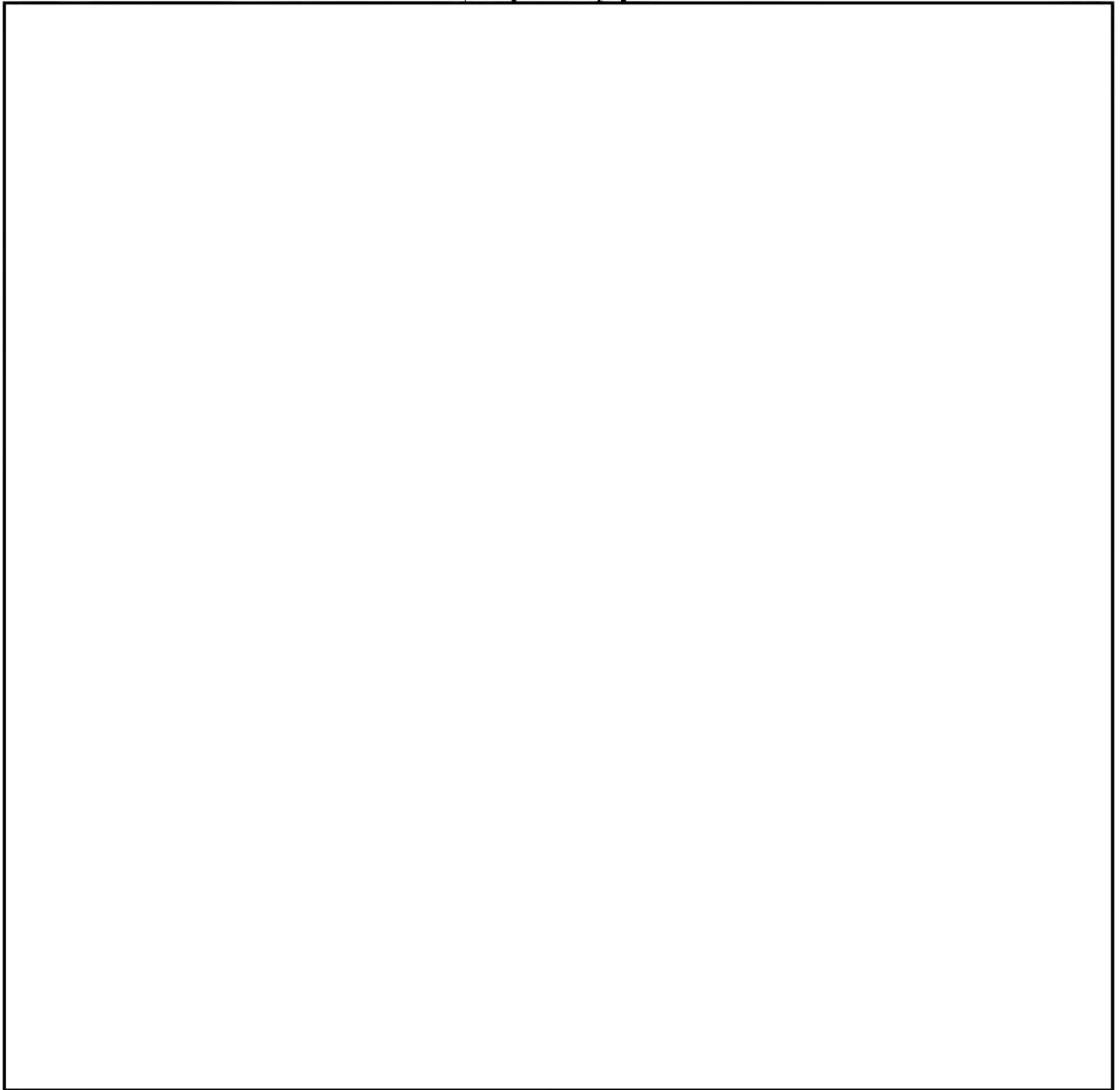


BART stated he



NY 100-80641

b7D



NY 100-80641

b7D



SAC, NEWARK

6/19/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(415)

CP, USA, ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

Identity of source	[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)
Description of info	Info re present status of PHIL BART at National Office of CP, 6/3/59
Date received	6/3/59
Received by	SAS JOHN A. HAAG, NY, and VINCENT E. MURPHY, Newark (oral)
Original location	[redacted]

b7D

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following info in order to protect the identity of informant.

Information received from informant, as set forth above, was reduced to writing by SA HAAG on 6/3/59, and authenticated by informant on 6/3/59.

A copy of informant's report follows:

1 - Newark [redacted]	(RM)
1 - NY [redacted]	(Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-27452	(ROBERT THOMPSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-56579	(PHIL BART) (422)
1 - NY 100-80641	(415)

b7D

JAH:mfd  
(5)

FILE STRIPPED  
BY [redacted] 3/28/70

100-56579-3427

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
415 JUN 1 1959	
FBI - NEW YORK	

H. L. [redacted]



NY 100-80641

6/3/59

At present no one has been named to succeed ROBERT THOMPSON as Executive Secretary of the CPUSA,

PHIL BART has been made CPUSA National Organizational Secretary and has assumed part of THOMPSON's duties. BART however has little or no authority as to CP policy as did THOMPSON and he (BART) does not represent any political force in the CPUSA.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
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No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 1  
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